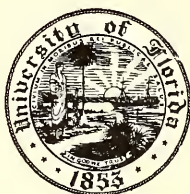



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THE LAST OF ENGLAND

Boarding an emigrant ship to bid a friend goodbye, the pre-Raphaelite artist, Ford Madox Brown, was so impressed by the faces of those who were seeing their homeland for the last time that one young couple became the subject for one of his major works, *The Last of England*.

British Emigration to North America

*Projects and Opinions in the Early
Victorian Period*

By

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UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS
MINNEAPOLIS

Published 1957 by the University of Minnesota Press

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Printed in Great Britain



TO THE MEMORY OF MY GREAT-GRANDFATHER

JOHN M. SHEPPERSON

WHO IN 1841 GAVE UP HIS DUTIES AS A LONDON SOLICITOR

TO TAKE UP LIFE AS A MISSOURI FARMER

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

AMONG the many who have contributed to various phases of this study, the writer is indebted to Professor H. Hale Bellot, University of London, for originally outlining the scope and possibilities for such research; to Dean Carl Wittke, Western Reserve University, for suggestions and counsel in the collection of material; and especially to Professor Donald Grove Barnes, Western Reserve University, for instruction and advice in the preparation of the manuscript. In studying the British settlements of the Southwest, assistance was generously extended by Professor H. Bailey Carroll, University of Texas. Mr. Alan A. Conway, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, offered valuable criticism on the overall manuscript. Dr. Gabriel Paolozzi, on the staff, American Consulate-General, Naples, Italy, has given freely of his time and been a most helpful consultant on matters of grammar and style. Finally, particular credit is due to the author's wife, who not only discharged most of the monotonous and routine clerical tasks connected with writing, but who also served as an invaluable aid in matters of both organization and content.

PREFACE

THE following pages are an attempt to set forth the views of the British people as well as the attitudes of Westminster on the controversial subject of emigration. Differences of opinion between a people and their chosen representatives at first might appear somewhat academic, especially since under a responsible government the official position supposedly reflects the wishes, as well as the best interests, of the governed. Nevertheless, emigration from Britain, like the expansion of her empire, was not so much the result of deliberation and planning by Whitehall as the product and enterprise of private individuals. As in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when explorers, merchant companies, and religious refugees founded the first settlements and brought the government, often against its will, to acknowledge and protect colonies, so in the nineteenth century the mass migration brought the government to acknowledge, protect, and even occasionally to assist in a movement in which it never really approved. Many of the officials appeared unable to understand that Britain's smoky slums and foggy moors had become a Hades' underworld for thousands of depressed persons; it seemed that Persephone would not return; whereas the New World offered spring and hope and opportunity: a rebirth for all who would come.

The subject of emigration in Britain and immigration in North America, within the last few years, has become a familiar theme for discussion both at the popular and at the academic levels. Yet the topic has often been dealt with more in the legendary than in the scholarly manner. A deep-seated sense of pride in ancestry, in ethnic extraction, and in regional growth many times has led Americans to romanticize their past, whereas an apparent disinterest or perhaps an unconscious humility has led many generations of Britons to ignore an important, if sometimes unpleasant, phase of their history. Although the universal import of immigration has been grasped, and efforts of recent years have produced competent studies, numerous aspects of the movement have yet to be thoroughly developed, and the broad field of emigration has been explored only in part.

In the century between Waterloo and Sarajevo, an aggregate of

almost 17,000,000 persons emigrated from the United Kingdom; approximately 80 per cent of them went to North America. Such staggering figures perhaps carry added significance when it is reflected that the total population of the United Kingdom in 1821 was less than 21,000,000 and only 45,000,000 in 1911. The number emigrating during the century following 1815 was nearly equal to the kingdom's population in 1815, and the growth in population during the century was almost equalled by the number who emigrated. During the 'hungry forties', the United Kingdom furnished the United States with nearly 925,000 and British North America with over 425,000 persons, while during the 'fitful fifties' over 1,600,000 left for republican shores and well over 250,000 departed for the North American colonies. If one discounted a very large proportion of the departees as being from Ireland, the exodus from Britain, a nation that was in her 'big century', and whose commercial, financial, and industrial prowess was not seriously challenged, is still little short of phenomenal.

Choice of the early Victorian era for the intensified scope of the monograph was made somewhat arbitrarily; however, the years do form a distinct unit in the history of United Kingdom emigration. Queen Victoria's accession to the throne in 1837 opened a new era for England in much the same way that the appointment of the first Agent General for Emigration in 1836-37, and the establishment of the first permanent emigration department in 1837-38 officially opened a new era of governmental participation in emigration. Also the American financial panic and the Canadian Rebellion of 1837 reduced the departures for North America in 1838 to fewer than they had been for over a decade. Following the 1838 slump, the number of persons leaving Britain rapidly increased, reached an all time high in the early fifties, and thereafter slowly decreased until the American Civil War virtually stopped the flow. Fewer Britons entered North America in 1861 than in any year thereafter until the First World War. Also, by 1861, much of the confusion and disagreement over emigration and its utility in relation to internal economic, political, and social problems had been resolved. Something of a *modus vivendi* had been secured in most controversies, and Britain's official North American emigration policy of providing information and protection while avoiding involvement and promotion had been firmly established.

During the decade bridging the mid-nineteenth century, Australia and New Zealand began to absorb substantial numbers of settlers.

And although the present work is limited to a study of the Atlantic migration, it is obviously impossible to segregate emigration ideas into neat compartments filed under the name of the continent which provoked them. It is, nevertheless, relatively easy to isolate the rather distinctive system of emigration which was adopted for the South Pacific from the much larger and more 'normal' exodus to North America. In Chapter VI, when generalizing on governmental attitudes and policies, the emigration agreements with Australia and New Zealand, and the official programme to assist in the settlement of those and other colonies, necessarily becomes important integrants in appraising the activities of Westminster.

With the exception of the standard, but very general, survey by Stanley C. Johnson on the history of emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912, most writers on the subject have studied the immigrant in the new society, and only incidentally treated the country from which he came. Or when the emphasis centres on Great Britain, development of the empire generally receives major stress. The great Irish exodus, while precipitated in part by forces identical with those operating throughout England and Scotland, nevertheless represented an essentially different movement; in this study Britain is interpreted to include England, Scotland, and Wales.

One difficulty in studying emigration is to determine the correct evaluation to place on the various sources of material; periodicals, diaries, letters, emigrant guide books, and travel accounts were generally subjectively written by biased observers who frequently were prejudiced to the point of presenting flagrant untruths. And as with all topics of controversy, many writers only skirted the real issues, and like the cuddlefish, left only a formless cloud of ink. Obviously such material cannot establish historical truth, but it is historical evidence; evidence not of fact but of motive, character, and effect. Since one of the objects of this work is to illustrate the place emigration occupied in the minds of the people, biased material, if critically appraised, becomes as pertinent as more objective records.

This survey, while primarily a narrative of events, is also devoted to the development of ideas. Not only colour and surface, but also intent and significance are discussed. However, there appear to be few unusual historical or philosophical concepts underlying the

emigration movement. And it is, of course, impossible to see farther into a millstone than its nature permits. Therefore, attempt is made at interpretation and explanation, but most space is given over to a recording of information. The study proposes to develop details into an understanding of the whole; it is a bill of particulars with a theme.

W. S. S.

LONDON

September 1954

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BRITISH EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

WHEN England, with the sixteenth-century loss of Calais, gave up her ambition for provinces in France, she receded from the mainland, and settled back as an agricultural country off the coast of Europe. But as the door was closed towards the continent, it was opened towards the sea. Although other European states already held sway over large colonial possessions, novel accident, natural advantage, or native acumen allowed the island kingdom to become the nucleus for the world's foremost empire. And although Britain developed remarkably stable, yet unusually elastic, institutions, thousands of her citizens found religious, political, or social reasons for leaving their homeland.

The economic motive was perhaps an even greater stimulator of emigration; while the rapidly growing commercial spirit especially encouraged the colonization impulse. Once established, commerce and colonies became dual forces which more and more were to dominate the actions and mould the lives of the British people. As the aura of respectability was thrown around commercial activities, so, to a lesser degree, emigration and colonization came to be acknowledged as legitimate undertakings. Anglo-Saxons flowed to every continent and established settlements over-looking every ocean, and, long before Victorian times, made Britain into Europe's leading commercial and imperial, as well as colonial, power.

THE EMIGRATION TRADITION

Because of foreign and religious exigencies, and the swarm of 'sturdy beggars' who drifted around the countryside, colonies appeared to many an Elizabethan to offer some rare advantages. They would strengthen the nation's international position, convert thousands of the aborigines to Protestant Christianity, and provide

a dumping ground for the so-called surplus population that plagued the country during the whole of the Tudor period. Colonization could open the door to commerce, conquest, and conversion. In the 1580's, Richard Hakluyt was engaged by the colonial enthusiasts, Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to enlist royal support for colonization. He so incisively set forth the opportunities to be derived from the movement that nineteenth-century promoters were still using his arguments.

Preacher Hakluyt informed Her Majesty as early as 1584 that Englishmen should learn the languages of the American Indians, and 'so with discretion and mildness distil into their purged minds the sweet and lively liquor of the gospel. . . .' Colonies would stimulate business and provide employment at home; people would 'be set on work in England of our poor subjects more than hath been', while emigration could also solve the perplexing vagrancy problem.¹

The Poor Law legislation of Elizabeth's reign, plus fewer enclosures and no foreign wars, helped to stabilize economic conditions during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, by 1617 James I had authorized the transportation to Virginia of vagrants and criminals, and later created the baronets of Nova Scotia who were to sponsor a new trans-Atlantic colony. But the area soon fell under French domination and the Scottish settlement was abandoned in 1629.

The intense colonial activity under Charles I was generally the result of private enterprise. The government, however, did attempt to exercise some control over colonies once they were established, and in this connection in 1634 created a standing committee for plantations; Archbishop Laud was the dominant member. While some emigrants were inspired with the hope of personal gain, it was the religious upheaval of the mid-1600's that incited the century's major hegira. As the migration of Puritans to New England increased, Laud's committee attempted to control the outward flow, but the proclamation demanding that all those leaving England secure an official permit apparently was not enforced. Business and financial interests which valued the thrift and enterprise of the Puritans also registered opposition to emigration. The mercantile doctrine attached great significance to a favourable balance of trade; therefore, some believed that a dense and energetic population producing for export was of more worth to England than the creation of colonies. But neither the government nor the mercantilists seriously interfered with the mass emigration which multiplied

the number of Englishmen overseas from 9,000 in 1629 to 65,000 in 1640. Perhaps as many as 20,000 souls removed from old England to New England in the decade of the thirties.

During the interregnum, Puritan departures virtually ceased, whereas pro-royalists began to make their way to Virginia or to the Caribbean. Naturally the Restoration brought another shift in the character of the English migration, and with William Penn religious and social toleration became the basis for a new American colony. Quakers, bands of Welsh Nonconformists, and other troublesome or heterogeneous minorities began to flow to the newer colonies. The officials were content, if not pleased, to see the industrious, yet peculiar, religious groups take up lands in Carolina, Maryland, or Pennsylvania. But the average annual migration between 1660 and 1714 was substantially less than that under Charles I. There were perhaps fewer than 350,000 colonials on the North American continent at the beginning of the Georgian period.

Between 1715 and 1775, official emigration activity varied from that of lazy indifference during the early 1700's to that of mild endorsement of colonial settlement by mid-century. After the Earl of Halifax became president of the Board of Trade in 1748, renewed vigour was given to colonial policy; nevertheless, in 1761 and again in 1763 powerful forces in Britain demanded that Canada be returned to the French in exchange for Guadeloupe. The Hanoverians were especially pleased to see Germans and other continentals settle in the New World, and by the accession of George III there were perhaps 1,200,000 British colonists in America. Additional workers abroad produced more raw products for sale through British ports, increased British carrying trade, and insured the dominance of Britain and Protestantism over Franco-Spanish Catholicism in America. Later, as a spirit of resistance began to show itself across the Atlantic, George III reversed himself and inaugurated a policy which led first to restraint, and later to an almost complete suspension, of emigration to America. One of the first complaints catalogued against George III in the Declaration of Independence was that he 'endeavoured to prevent the population of these States'.

In the decade between the American and French revolutions, perhaps 35,000 United Empire Loyalists migrated to Nova Scotia (later New Brunswick); approximately 6,000 went to Upper Canada and some 1,000 settled along the St. Lawrence. Throughout the period, the American-bound Scottish Highland movement

continued to increase, and the diversion of many Scots from the United States to British North America first pointed up the controversy of whether colonial settlement or emigration to an independent republic was more desirable.

Since the military and associate needs during the Napoleonic wars were sufficient to accommodate British employment requirements, Scottish emigration was markedly reduced and the outward movement of Englishmen was severely curtailed. But with Napoleon's defeat went the cancellation of many factory contracts and the withdrawal of inflated foreign orders from British manufacturers. As the price of grain, employment opportunities, and the demand for coal were decreasing, war debts, poverty, and parish relief were increasing.

EMIGRATION'S GROWING APPEAL

For some four decades following 1815, many of the historic British institutions faced their severest test in nearly two hundred years. The failure of an eighteenth-century agricultural order to meet the many demands of a nineteenth-century industrial nation generated widespread condemnation of the system, and eventually led to a reassessment of old values and the redefinition of earlier objectives. In the interim, literally thousands of human beings found that their social moorings had been sheared away by the momentous changes. Others, finding themselves tied to an economic complex not of their making or liking, were at first willing and later anxious to weigh anchor, and go in search of a more generous land.

Industrial unemployment, agrarian depression, political inequality, religious discontent, and weakening social ties in some instances allowed, and in others encouraged, Britons to leave their homeland. Perplexed industrial conditions undoubtedly motivated substantial numbers of urban workers to seek the abundance and opportunity allegedly enjoyed across the Atlantic. The opening, or textile, phase of the Industrial Revolution with its introduction of machine manufacture had alarmed and outraged many handicraft workers and led to the Luddite frenzy of machine-breaking, but it did not greatly change the face of England. For example, in the early thirties there were still 200,000 cotton handloom weavers, while factory competition had forced their wages well below standards of minimum subsistence; and in 1829 there were fewer miners in Durham and Northumberland, mining one-quarter of the country's

coal supply, than there were tailors and bootmakers in London. However, with the Industrial Revolution's second phase came the extensive use of iron, coal, and steam. For thousands of the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie, slum life, miserable working conditions, and unemployment became commonplace. Historians disagree as to whether wages and working conditions improved or worsened during the first half of the nineteenth century, but since most of the lower classes assumed that conditions were deteriorating, the truth becomes subordinate to opinion in explaining British dissatisfaction. Attitudes more often than facts determine men's actions.

Professor T. S. Ashton had demonstrated quite convincingly that the leading political-economists of the time firmly believed that the factory system was producing a new milieu from which the proletariat had little to gain. As early as 1798, Malthus explained that the eighteenth-century discoveries and inventions notwithstanding, labourers had no more of the luxuries or necessities of life than earlier. Later, J. R. McCulloch and John Stuart Mill went considerably further when they asserted that because of the Industrial Revolution a greater proportion of civilization lived in drudgery than ever before. Professor Ashton further explained that 'poets, philosophers, and demagogues; parsons, deists, and infidels; conservatives, radicals, and revolutionaries...' were united in their hatred of factories and their aversion to economic change.²

Considering the perplexing urban discontent, it is somewhat surprising to find that the rural departures generally exceeded those from the metropolitan districts. It was the larger agrarian migration, plus the North American demand for and ability to absorb experienced farmers, which led the majority of emigrant agents before 1860 to concentrate on stimulating and steering the rural rather than the urban exodus. As a result of the modern industrial complexity, each business panic was almost immediately reflected in the agricultural districts; such basic economic distress coupled with unfavourable weather conditions, diseased crops, low incomes, and enclosures rendered much of rural Britain as ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clothed as the urban districts. And much like their city compatriots, depressed agrarian groups were looking backward rather than forward. Agriculturists romantically pictured the past and the 'good old days' before the advent of the new industry, and by way of contrast saw America with her vast stretches of rich soil as a haven of hope where sturdy farmers could find opportunities no longer available in once 'merry England'.

Benefits from industrial progress and agricultural enclosures had fallen to the upper and upper-middle classes, and thereby had created a financial gulf between such groups and the lower middle class. The difference in economic status eventually led to the political division so graphically reflected by the Reform Bill of 1832. That act gave the franchise to one adult male in five, and clearly reflected the bargain struck between the upper middle class and the Whig aristocracy. Consequently, artisans, tradesmen, operative farmers, and agricultural labourers became potential emigrants for political, in addition to economic, reasons. Dissatisfaction at home increased with the knowledge that greater political equality would be granted in the more egalitarian communities abroad.

Nonconformists had looked to the 1832 reform as the opening wedge in the struggle to disestablish the Anglican Church and remove the university tests. While over the following twenty years a commission did abolish many of the worst abuses of the established Church, fundamental change was not effected until after the second Reform Act. Dissenters, therefore, were especially susceptible to the blandishments of agents who outlined the remarkable wealth yet the social equality, the religious enthusiasm yet the theological freedom, to be found in America.

Sentiment, respect, and tradition often create an *esprit de corps* when more materialistic *raisons d'unité* do not exist, but many of Britain's early nineteenth-century political ornaments failed to radiate the magnetism, inspire the admiration, or produce the cohesion implicit in an aristocracy and royalty. The eccentricities of George IV and William IV weakened the monarchy; at first, neither Queen Victoria nor Prince Albert emanated a personal warmth for the 'lower classes'. The aloof Duke of Wellington, irascible Earl of Durham, and lackadaisical Lord Stanley were among the political leaders who often fired less imagination in the hearts of many English commoners than Americans like Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, or the Adamses.

While the unprecedented urban confusion and rural destitution created unusual hardships, it nevertheless remains doubtful if such developments by themselves would have fomented the great Atlantic migration. Nor can the mass exodus be attributed solely to political inequality, religious restrictions, social injustices, or intellectual handicaps endured by a portion of the populace. History records manifold examples of men unemployed, unfranchised, undemocratically governed, and uninformed; yet neither attempting nor

contemplating emigration. The difference in Britain lay in the fact that the British people were sufficiently advanced to aspire to social and political recognition more commensurate with individual ability, and to demand reasonable opportunity for the fruition of their material and intellectual endeavours. Seldom do those human beings crushed under the weight of a rigid caste system register significant personal demands; positive action more often arises from the strata of society that is gaining in power, prestige, and eminence. In brief, the freedom and dynamics of the British subjects led large numbers of them to participate energetically in emigration when it seemed to offer an avenue for self-improvement.

The United States had been settled primarily by the British, who not only set the original cultural tone, but continued to give sizeable injections of manpower, industrial 'know-how', and financial aid to the New World. Since American society was drawn from the British mould, a great personal deterrent to emigration was removed; the 'open-door' attitude maintained by the republic towards immigrants, especially British immigrants, further ameliorated the unhappy features of leaving home. Except in periods of extreme recession, the American demand was for people, particularly the young and able-bodied, anxious to use their hands and apply their skills; they could be readily assimilated into the expanding domestic complex. The North American colonies could absorb fewer settlers and held out more modest economic advantages than their southern neighbour; however, since their political institutions and cultural patterns were closely associated with the homeland, the colonies offered some very real inducements to emigrants.

Through colonization journals, travel accounts, and emigrant letters, the emigration topic virtually forced its way into the thoughts of thousands of the discontented. It was referred to in British newspapers, magazines, and books; discussed on lecture platforms, at union meetings, and in philanthropic circles; debated by the government, before Parliament, and by local parish authorities; argued by manufacturing interests, commercial firms, and shipping companies; capitalized on by salesmen of emigrant equipment, seaport boarding-house proprietors, and rail and ship ticket salesmen; opposed by Chartist, Corn Law repealists, and most of the *laissez-faire* school; and demanded by Scottish Highland landlords, handloom weavers, and most of the Radical Party. A writer

for the widely-read *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* effectively summed up the thinking of many Britons when he wrote:

I cannot help feeling that the United States of America can put forward powerful claims as a home for myriads of inhabitants of the United Kingdom. The shortness of the voyage, the excellence of climate, the exuberant soil, the cheaply administered laws, the language, the toleration in religion—all point out the States, particularly the older-settled ones, as highly suitable to the wants and habits of the British emigrant.³

That emigration newspapers like *The Emigrant and Colonial Advocate*, *The Emigration Record and Colonial Journal*, *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette*, and many others would be laudatory of the movement is self-evident. Superlatives were liberally used: 'No nation in the history of the world ever obtained such an eminence in so short a time, nor made such a rapid advance in arts, literature, and commerce.'⁴ American soil, climate, language, habits, institutions, and other specific features were repeatedly emphasized and praised. Of course, the majority of the colonial magazines, as well as leading colonial votaries like William H. G. Kingston and Montgomery Martin, tended to discourage emigration to the United States at the same time that they fostered colonial settlement.

The nearly 250 works published by Britons about America between 1836 and 1860 brought practically every phase of the western society under close, if sometimes superficial, scrutiny. Both the books and their reviewers helped to create an emigration climate.⁵ Many of the works stressed the agricultural opportunities to be found in the New World, and the more liberal studies repeatedly emphasized that across the Atlantic hired labourers ate at the same table as their landed employer. Individual families, like the Burlands from Yorkshire who went to Illinois and the Hadleys from Scotland who settled along the Mississippi, were used as the focal point for Horatio Alger success stories. 'Skill and energy when combined with upright intentions and good feelings' were certain to lead to prosperity in North America.⁶ Captain R. Barclay-Allardice was so favourably impressed with the farming opportunities found in the republic that he felt himself 'called upon not to withhold' the opinion he had formed, 'but to contribute' it for what it 'might be deemed worth' to the British agriculturists.⁷ Other works written by British farmers emphasized the more favourable growing season and the warmer, dryer, and healthier atmosphere. Occasionally it was declared that Americans lived longer than Europeans, and even the well-known geologist, Charles Lyell,

commented favourably on America's invigorating weather and energetic populace.⁸

Religious leaders saw in the new and robust society an opportunity to build a profitable, intellectual, and moral community difficult to envisage in the England of the 'hungry forties'.⁹ In further emphasizing the ethics and independence of the western land, Archibald Prentice explained that New York City was provided with 215 places of worship, while his home town of Manchester, with a comparable population, supported only 114. After his trans-Atlantic tour, Prentice, who had been an outspoken editor of the *Manchester Times* and other Manchester papers, produced a cheap 2s. booklet for the purpose of stimulating interest in emigration. Prentice informed architects, surveyors, engineers, and draughtsmen that they could expect to find numerous good openings in America, while artists would discover new possibilities and be well paid. 'Bad actors are so much in the majority that one of average merit stands a fair chance of becoming a trans-Atlantic star of first magnitude.' Doctors were assured of a good practice, while 'there are few more profitable occupations in the States than that of the dentist'.¹⁰

Impressed by a visit to the Western hemisphere, William Chambers, joint editor of the various Chambers' publications, not only produced a pro-American book, but during 1854 published many articles on the progressive character of the young nation. And then, finding himself inundated with requests for information on the advisability of emigration, wrote a series of pamphlets dealing with conditions in the various emigration fields. Each pamphlet sold for 1s. or the entire set for 4s. 6d. *Chambers' Journal* loosely paraphrased the *Encyclopaedia Britannica's* description of the United States to show the advantages of emigration. 'The Anglo-American republic is a pole-star to guide the people in their course towards freedom and prosperity.'¹¹

More noted authors also commonly contributed to the emigration stimulus. Harriet Martineau's *Society in America* avowed that there was no poverty in America's dynamic communities, while Thomas Carlyle agreed that expatriation appeared the only escape from the greedy industrial materialism that had overtaken Britain. Perhaps the most extensive and daring female traveller of her day, Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley, used the greater part of four volumes to describe her trans-Atlantic experiences. Like many writers, she eventually turned prognosticator and predicted that the United

States would soon become one of the greatest nations in history.¹² But the impressions of affluent travellers, and the opinions of fluent writers, no doubt, had less influence upon the labouring classes and the lesser bourgeoisie than immigrant letters from friends and relatives already settled in the New World.

For two centuries, letters from former neighbours and acquaintances who had emigrated had been eagerly received and often circulated among the inhabitants of entire communities. The early nineteenth century with its extensive departures and more efficient mail service brought about a marked increase in such correspondence. By 1840, single packet ships between New York and Liverpool carried as many as 16,000 letters,¹³ and as early as 1833 the Petworth Emigration Society had gathered and published a 1s. edition of letters from former Sussex agriculturists who had gone to British North America. Demand for the little booklet was so widespread that a second edition was printed in the same year. The correspondence from a party of some seventy-five Surrey labourers who had emigrated to Upper Canada in 1832 further intensified the emigration psychology of south-east England. About the same time, a book entitled *Counsel for Emigrants with Original Letters from Canada and the United States* and other collections of emigrant letters were being printed and circulated among the farmers of Scotland; somewhat later the manufacturing areas of the Midlands began to experience a similar growth in emigration publicity and popularity.¹⁴

During the forties the appendices of many pamphlets and books dealing with North America were stuffed with notes from emigrants. The letters were sometimes selective and used to substantiate the thesis presented by the writer, but more often they were merely individual accounts of life in the colonies or the United States. Emigrant letters like those in Michael Chevalier's *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States: being a Series of Letters from North America* and others published in foreign languages were translated and given wide circulation. Most local newspapers, trade journals, and emigration periodicals carried personalized accounts of the trials and tribulations, but eventual successes of former associates. Taking the place of the more modern motion picture travelogue, the moving diorama was used to provoke interest in and direct attention towards the Western hemisphere. A series of large paintings of trans-Atlantic scenes when accompanied by an explanatory lecture became an effective device for awakening a curiosity in the fabulous New World.¹⁵

The nineteenth-century migrations were more than the movement of a few people from a small island across a rough ocean to a wealthy yet sparsely-inhabited continent. No doubt the movement substantially altered future international relations, and by its comprehensive character personally affected millions of people, and many of the social institutions of the world. Any operation having such far-reaching external consequences could not but sensibly affect conditions within Britain. Emigration and colonization as a stimulus to commerce, industry, and foreign investment; as a provider of markets and raw products; as a fulfilment of the traditional pride and belief that Anglo-Saxons were destined to conquer the wilderness; and as a personal concern when every family had emigrant relatives led to the subject's becoming especially vital in the early Victorian era—an era when the relatively stable agricultural and commercial society gave way to the new industrial and financial order.

POLITICAL ADVENT OF EMIGRATION

As Britain experienced the economic and political uncertainty following the French wars, interest in and demand for emigration increased. Eventually, after much hesitation, Whitehall yielded to the public urging, and began to devise experimental programmes designed to assist in the carrying out or settlement of Britons. At first discharged officers and men, mostly from Scottish Highland units, were given grants of land if they would migrate to British North America; later, between 1819 and 1827, Parliament intermittently voted small sums to be used in the transport of paupers to Canada. Parliament showed increased interest in 1826 when it inaugurated a policy whereby land was granted to private settlers on unusually liberal terms. And in the same year the government sold over 2,000,000 acres of land to the newly-chartered Canada Company. The sale was made at a very nominal price, subject to the condition that the company would open up the region by making basic improvements and taking out emigrants. Several boards of guardians followed the lead of the central government and sent out some of their habitual relief victims. Since under the Speenhamland system many English ratepayers were constrained to supplement the income of agricultural workers from the poor rates, they generally sanctioned emigration when it was offered as a direct means to lower the tax assessment.

It was in 1822 that the first real champion of emigration, Robert

John Wilmont, later Sir Robert Wilmont-Horton, became Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. Classifying himself a liberal Tory unafraid of change, Wilmont-Horton considered the traditional lethargic attitude maintained by the older Whigs and Tories inexcusable, and advocated a policy of closer imperial co-operation. He felt that colonial settlement could be made the answer to many of Britain's problems. Emigration could serve as the remedy for poverty and unemployment at home, give labour, hence value, to the undeveloped areas in North America, and thereby fuse the interests and ideals of the two peoples into a compact empire.

In 1826 Wilmont-Horton finally secured the appointment of a select committee to consider emigration.¹⁶ Sitting in 1826 and 1827, the committee decided to encourage colonial settlement through an extensive system of government aid.¹⁷ However, after agreements had been worked out with authorities in British North America and contracts for survey, planning of settlements, and even storing of supplies had been entered into, the subject was abandoned. Parliament had allowed Sir Robert to dominate the select committee, but had never taken his plans seriously. If *The Times*' derision and condemnation of the scheme represented the public pulse, real enthusiasm was lacking among the British people.¹⁸ Although something less than convincing, the official objections suggested that suitable lands could not be found, people sent out by the government would not and could not readily repay their indebtedness, and emigrants, after having crossed the Atlantic at public expense, might forfeit their holdings and move into the United States.¹⁹ Further legislative efforts were made by Wilmont-Horton in 1828 and 1830 when he introduced bills to enable parishes to mortgage their future tax receipts to procure immediate funds for the transport and settlement of emigrants. But neither bill gained even limited support.²⁰ With one last attempt made by Lord Howick in 1831, the Wilmont-Horton philosophy of emigration came to a disconcerting end.²¹

While Sir Robert was a man of unquestioned sincerity and ability, he hopelessly misjudged the entire emigration picture. In spite of his liberal outlook, his basic aim was to rid Britain of both her chronic and occasional paupers, while, with 'mother country' ludicrousness, he forgot the undeveloped state of North America and the problems devolving upon any colony which attempted to absorb persons unfit to face the hardships of a new life. Convinced that the departure of a few unemployed tradesmen and labourers would restore prosperity, he failed to grasp the true character of the

dislocation or penetrate the real magnitude of the unemployment problem.

Nor was Wilmont-Horton a good popularizer of theories. Since the emigration idea was as yet closely associated in the average mind with the transportation of criminals, less stress should have been placed on Tory paternalism and the financial benefit to be derived by the parishes. But his most fundamental error was a confirmed Malthusianism. He implicitly accepted the doctrine of a redundant population, yet disagreed with Malthus' pessimistic solution to the problem: namely, that famine, plague, and war would hold down the population, while emigration would only stave off the evil days, and, in fact, be a palliative that would worsen the disease by allowing the population to grow. While Sir Robert was a Malthusian in a sense, the Malthusians bitterly opposed his optimistic solution for their gloomy predictions.²²

On the other hand, those antagonistic to Malthusianism maintained that the country was not over-populated, and assailed emigration on any large organized scale. William Cobbett, while himself recommending the advantages of the United States, contended that emigration schemes were merely to relieve the poor rates or provide cargoes for shipowners.²³ Sir Francis Bond Head and Michael Thomas Sadler²⁴ were others who actively propagandized against both emigration and Malthusianism. Head, later Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, gave the simple but effective argument that 'if the Creator made these people, we can fairly trust to his wisdom and omnipotence to regulate population'.²⁵ He reasoned that as artificial wants (luxuries) increased over natural wants (food, clothing, and shelter), the population would cease to multiply. Head believed desire for artificial luxuries and not the want of food restrained the rich from producing children; therefore, as the lower classes came to desire luxuries, they would have smaller families.

Emigration was first expanded into a national issue by the active and impetuous genius, Edward Gibbon Wakefield. While sitting out time in the gaol at Newgate, Wakefield contrived a scheme designed to incorporate Wilmont-Horton's major tenants into a more scientific system. Large and haphazard colonial land grants made by the imperial government had led to cheap land and a consequent short and overly expensive labour supply. Wakefield suggested that free grants be discontinued and crown lands be sold at a fair, if rather high, fixed price. By ending speculative buying and forcing labourers to work for some time before they could purchase

land for themselves, the labour force could be augmented substantially. Proceeds from the land sales were to be used to finance the transport of a steady supply of emigrant labour to the colonies. Logically, Wakefield's seemed the perfect method; as more land was sold, more emigrants would be brought in to perform more labour. The system did not have the self-centred English earmarks of Wilmont-Horton's 'shovelling out of paupers' project, but rather gave emphasis to the establishment of a well-balanced society within the colonies.

Essentially unsound in its complete application, Wakefield's theory was, nevertheless, in part politically successful. The unsettled state of British society, plus increased knowledge of the United States and the colonies, provided a fertile opportunity for the spread of the systematic emigration and colonization doctrine. Through wide publicizing and popularizing, the subject quickly became an important facet of British thinking. However, since neither the actual system of land sales nor any other portion of the over-all theory was applied in the Western hemisphere, it was only the Wakefieldian exposition of the emigration theme that affected the migration to North America.

A concept theoretically opposed to Wakefield's plan for governmental participation in emigration projects was Jeremy Bentham's notion of freedom of action without governmental interference. By the early thirties, the Benthamite school of 'philosophical radicals' had gained its maturity, and was widely propagating the doctrines of individualism and utilitarianism. All but the most limited kind of political and social regulation was to be abolished. Men of the party like Francis Place, J. R. McCulloch, and Joseph Hume spear-headed the 1824 removal of limitations on labour unions at the same time that Huskisson, a Tory, secured repeal of the emigration restrictions on artisans and other skilled workmen.²⁶ In its inception, the doctrine of extreme individuality had been fostered by some in the hope of eliminating unnecessary and out-moded restrictions, by a few to reduce the power of the monarch and aristocracy, and by others to lessen the power of the Church. But with the rapid growth of industrialization, many manufacturers, deploring state or public interference, found comfort in a theory that upheld the right of a proprietor to make unrestricted use of his property. From the latter connection, with less logic than rationalization, the assumption of a harmony of interest between private gain and the public good developed.

Certain business interests had long since proved to their own satisfaction that colonies were not only valueless to the mother country, but actually a liability. The belief was fortified by figures showing the rapid increase of trade with the United States after that country became independent. As the American purchase of British manufactured goods was much greater than that of most areas under British control, business thinking deemed the republic equal, if not superior, to the colonies as an emigration field. Therefore, from the hypothetical standpoint of individual self-determination, as well as from the economic knowledge that Americans were good customers, the *laissez-faire* school argued that emigrants should not be governmentally assisted to go to the colonies, but should rely on their own resources and go where they preferred.

Logically, Bentham should have gone along with such an analysis. But on this issue, as well as on several others, Bentham overrode his own logic. Although in 1793 he had addressed a pamphlet to the Convention at Paris entitled *Emancipate Your Colonies*, he had always made the reservation that colonies might be a proper outlet for surplus population. Consequently with the publication of Wakefield's first works, Bentham and some of his closest disciples supported the new ideas, while the Sir John Bowring section of utilitarianism, represented by the *Westminster Review*, condemned it. Wakefield's principle that the care, protection, and some of the domestic activities within the colonies should be under British control was a wide departure from the *laissez-faire* conception of the free play of forces. Nevertheless, in 1833, the year following Bentham's death, John Stuart Mill, Sir William Molesworth, and others with similar views founded the *London Review* which came to be one of Wakefield's chief supporters. Of course, Wakefield had many champions who were not associated with the Benthamite radicals. Colonel Robert Torrens, a prolific writer on political economy and at first an opponent, was, like Sir Robert Wilmont-Horton, soon converted to the new emigration views.²⁷

After the 1832 extension of the franchise, the political and economic power of the new industrial element grew rapidly, and in time many of the *Westminster Review* utilitarians merged with it and helped to transform the Whig Party into the Liberal Party based on the Manchester school precepts. Since the action was not completed until after mid-century, the Whig colonial department through the thirties was open to the Wakefieldian argument that the government should formulate an emigration programme. To a considerable

degree, the Whig administration of Earl Grey came to approve the idea. Lord Howick, son of Earl Grey, was Under-Secretary in the colonial department, and for some time had been interested in the emigration question. With free grants of crown lands being discontinued in 1831, the Wakefield philosophy first came into evidence at the Colonial Office. The period was one in which the idea of state regulation for public purposes, as demonstrated in the Factory Acts and efforts to control finance, was beginning. Through the greater part of the decade, limited official emigration activities were furthered by Lord Goderich, Lord Howick, Earl Grey, and a few other Whigs, but the basic ideas generally originated with and were propagandized by the Wakefieldians.

Many landed Whigs and Tories of the old colonial school agreed with the new industrial classes in that they also resisted governmental intervention in emigration. But they did it for diametrically opposite reasons. They were afraid that such interference would lead to the loosening of the colonial ties and the over-liberalization of the colonial governments. To them, the British Empire was still the taproot of Britain's greatness and a living symbol of her most outstanding achievement. However, among the Scottish nobility there was an earnest desire to foster a somewhat limited and more or less localized and personalized type of emigration. These nobles wanted specific governmental grants, first to clear their estates of unneeded peasantry, and secondly to fortify British North America with sufficient loyal manpower to repulse any foreign invasion. Consequently, quite divergent political philosophies were at least in superficial agreement on emigration. The *Bowring-Westminster Review* section of the Benthamite radicals, a majority of the old landed Whigs and Tories, and the rising Liberal *laissez-faire* business interests generally opposed; while the *Molesworth-London Review* section of the Benthamite radicals, many Tory imperialists, and most of the Scottish nobility commonly supported an active governmental emigration programme.

Early in 1831, Lord Howick, following through on a motion made by Charles Tennant late in 1830²⁸ and giving full credit for his idea to Wilmont-Horton, proposed the appointment of a government emigration commission.²⁹ Since Parliament soon dissolved, the bill did not reach the second reading; however, a few months later, Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary, appointed an emigration commission to function within and under the instructions of the colonial department.³⁰ The five-man board performed

as a sub-branch of the Colonial Office until dissolved by Lord Goderich in 1832;³¹ Thomas Elliot, secretary of the short-lived commission, was retained and continued to manage emigration affairs for the department.

Beginning about 1830, the annual migration to North America experienced a staggering augmentation. The increase brought with it accounts of overcrowding, food and water shortages, and other unsafe arrangements aboard the emigrant ships; therefore, starting at Liverpool in 1835, and quickly spreading to other important ports, a system of emigrant ship inspection by naval officers was inaugurated. A further indication of the growing official interest in emigration was the new Poor Law of 1834. It empowered rate-payers to raise money on the security of the parish rates for the purpose of financing the sending out of the poor.³² The generally stringent provisions of the new act may well have encouraged the utilization of the emigration clause by relief recipients, who enjoyed the choice of assisted emigration, slow starvation, or poor house emaciation.

Following 1834, the emigration section of the Colonial Office underwent a constant, if modest, expansion. In 1836, after Parliament had heard the recommendations of a select committee on colonial lands and after the London Emigration Committee, a voluntary, charitable agency which had for some years aided the government in managing emigrant ships, resigned, Thomas Elliot was designated as the first Agent-General for Emigration. It was also agreed that the new arm of the colonial department should be financed directly from the imperial treasury, not from the Colonial Office funds. The emigration agency became, therefore, a semi-independent branch within the permanent, governmental bureaucracy. By the early part of 1838, the new Agent-General for Emigration moved into his offices at 2 Middle Scotland Yard.³³

With the election of 1837 and the subsequent dissolution of the Radical Party, the most active emigration supporters, Lord Durham, Charles Buller, Henry George Ward, and Sir William Molesworth, were absorbed into the industrial arm of the Whig Party. But while the dwindling Benthamites were accommodated by the Manchester School Whigs, they generally realized more support for their emigration projects from the Whig and Tory landlords than from the *laissez-faire* wing of their own party. The Manchester men's *obiter dictum* was: 'Why keep the colonies?'

From the standpoint of the average emigrant perhaps both the

intellectual theorizing and the disputes waged in governmental circles were of little moment. Naturally, speculation on any human impulse is relative. It has been suggested, however, that the self-help and self-restraint for which Englishmen were noted in the nineteenth century was the outgrowth of a personal discipline bred of evangelical Puritanism. If that were true, the Protestant ethic which helped to stimulate a freedom of action and mould an individuality of character was obviously a significant factor behind the self-sustained and self-directed British emigration. Of course, if it is to be argued that the British possessed a unique and virile type of individuality which made them exceptional colonists, it must also be admitted that the same philosophy of individualism, when applied by industrialists, curtailed the economic freedom of less fortunate men and thus virtually forced many of them to leave their homeland. In short, if personal individualism and independence brought Britons to emigrate, then the unrestrained individualism and independence of the rising industrialists caused many others to seek emigration. But again, the typical emigrant's attitude was not to reflect upon the strength of his character or the weaknesses of society, but rather to weigh the opportunities the New World offered for earning a livelihood for himself and providing a future for his children.

Not all Britons approved of governmental participation in emigration. Some were particularly alarmed by the growth of the official emigration agency, and by way of countering the movement referred to the 'Irish menace'. Large numbers of Irish were yearly entering the western ports of England and Scotland. In busy seasons they were easily absorbed into the permanent labour force, but in times of depression they undercut and replaced native workers, and thus lowered the general wage scale. Many believed that if action were taken to assist British labourers to emigrate, the Irish would 'deluge Great Britain with poverty and wretchedness, and gradually, but certainly, . . . equalize the state of English and Irish peasantry'.³⁴ Even the Poet-laureate, Southey, became much concerned:

It is vain to hope for any permanent and extensive advantage from any system of emigration which does not primarily apply to Ireland, whose population, unless some other outlet be opened to them, must shortly fill up every vacuum created in England or Scotland, and reduce the labouring classes to an uniform state of degradation and misery.³⁵

Another common descant suggested that persons were lured to

American ports where industrialists employed them at good wages until their technical knowledge had been exploited, and then replaced them with more tractable and lower paid, if less skilled, workers. Nor were the colonies a sure road to success. It was argued that colonial peoples were not in a position to employ large groups of labourers, especially when the newcomers were unfamiliar with the climate, type of work, or general society found in British North America. Complaints, formerly made by New York City against the landing of indigents, were publicized by emigration critics. And a paper, published and distributed throughout Europe by John Quincy Adams in 1819 and designed to discourage further departures for the United States, was gleefully referred to by opponents of emigration.³⁶ One writer contended that nine-tenths of the British who went to the republic did so because they owed debts which would be held against them in the colonies.³⁷ It would seem clear that the small, but active, group who attempted to carry the Wilmont-Horton and Wakefield doctrines into fruition was confronted not only by the lethargy of most of the Members of Parliament and the caution of the government, but also by a vigorous, albeit unorganized, opposition.

The decade between 1830 and 1840 was the heart of an era of adjustment when, as a result of political reforms, the new wealth was being fused into the British fabric after which there emerged a stronger, if perhaps less happy, nation. In the confusion of the adjustment rose the small emigration department born of the Wakefieldian genius and enthusiasm, and the widespread demand for emigration assistance. But the Wakefield principle of a high upset price on land was early abandoned as unfeasible for British North America. It was Wilmont-Horton who, as Under-Secretary in the Colonial Office, pointed out to Wakefield and the newly-organized Colonial Society that a high price on land in Canada or adjoining provinces would merely drive colonists to the cheap lands of the United States.³⁸ That realization, coupled with the greater accessibility of North America, led the government emigration office during the 1830's to devote more attention to Australia than to the trans-Atlantic colonies; nevertheless, the western continent with its Kaaba of black earth remained the Mecca for a majority of the British pilgrims.

During the thirties, the average annual migration to British North America was 32,077; to the South Pacific, 5,324; and to the United States, 29,249. The figures emphasize the personal and

private aspects of emigration, and the limited part the government or colonial societies played in determining the direction of the outward flow. The substantial numbers going to the United States were to be significant. Few emigrants could afford or perhaps cared to be politically picayunish when the general culture of the colonies and the American republic was so similar. The United States and British North America were a complementary unit; geographic location, economic prosperity, and the English language overcame artificial political boundaries and made emigration to North America uninterpretable on strictly national lines.³⁹

Economists who have examined the statistics generally conclude that there was a close correlation between North American prosperity and the influx of large numbers of immigrants.⁴⁰ Therefore, while the economic, political, and social vicissitudes of Britain bred a longing in the breasts of many to be done with depression, turmoil, and inferior position, the distant and semi-fabulous America seemed to beckon from afar, and to hold out the assured prosperity, security, and social standing not accorded at home. Other Britons like the Scottish Highlanders, handloom weavers, and certain skilled craftsmen were virtually crowded into leaving. They were left, as it were, stranded in an age when many upper class families were tending to discard traditional paternalism without organizing community services; when public officials were abandoning state direction and with great hesitancy approaching state regulation; therefore, for many the only choice seemed to be expatriation.

NOTES

¹ Raymond P. Stearns (compiler), *Pageant of Europe* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1947), pp. 316-17.

² T. S. Ashton, 'The Standard of Life of the Workers in England, 1790-1830', *The Journal of Economic History, Supplement*, IX (1949), 19-38.

³ *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, X, No. 516 (December 18, 1841), 383-4.

⁴ *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 56 (November 17, 1849), 926.

⁵ Max Berger, *The British Traveller in America, 1836-60* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943).

⁶ Milo M. Quaife (editor), *A True Picture of Emigration* (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1936). *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, XI, No. 286 (June 23, 1849), 392.

⁷ R. Barclay-Allardice, *Agricultural Tour in the United States and Canada* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1842), p. xiii.

⁸ Joseph Pickering, *Inquiries of an Emigrant: Being the Narrative of an English Farmer* (4th ed.; London: Effingham Wilson, 1832). Robert Holditch, *The Emigrant Guide to the United States of America* (London: Printed for William Hone, 1818). After Lyell's first voyage to North America, he wrote *Travels in North America* (London: John Murray, 1845) in 2 volumes. After his second tour, he published another two-volume work, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (London: John Murray, 1849). Extracts and reviews of the accounts were widely circulated in both cheap and more scholarly publications.

⁹ Robert Everest, *A Journey through the United States and Part of Canada* (London: John Chapman, 1855).

¹⁰ Archibald Prentice, *A Tour in the United States* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1848).

¹¹ *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, X, No. 486 (May 22, 1841), 144.

¹² Lady Emmeline's two books were *Travel in the United States* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851) in 3 volumes, and *Etc.* (London: Thomas Bosworth, 1853).

¹³ *The Times* (London), March 4, 1840, p. 5.

¹⁴ *Emigration. Letters from Sussex Emigrants* (2nd ed.: Petworth: John Phillips, 1833). Charles Barclay (editor), *Letters from the Dorking Emigrants Who Went to Upper Canada in the Spring of 1832* (London: J. & A. Arch, 1833). *Counsel for Emigrants with Original Letters from Canada and the United States* (Aberdeen: John Mathison, 1834). *Sequel to the Counsel for Emigrants* (Aberdeen: John Mathison, 1834). 'An English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin. The Letters of Edwin Bottomley', *Collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, XXV (1918). *America and England Contrasted: or, the Emigrants' Handbook and Guide to the United States* (2nd ed.; London: Cleave, 1845).

¹⁵ *The Westminster Review*, XXXV (1841), 131 ff.

¹⁶ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (2nd series), XVIII, 1828, 940.

¹⁷ One of the witnesses called by the select committee was W. S. Fitzhugh, special agent for the United States Chamber of Commerce. Fitzhugh was appointed in 1822 and stationed in Liverpool to supervise persons going to the United States. His office at 4 Coopers' Row also encouraged the departure of certain classes of emigrants. *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Report of the Select Committee on Emigration, 1826, IV (404), 296.

¹⁸ *The Times* (London), October 13, 1827.

¹⁹ Stanley C. Johnson, *A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1913), pp. 18-19.

²⁰ W. A. Carrothers, *Emigration from the British Isles* (London: D. S. King & Sons, Ltd., 1929), p. 51.

²¹ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), II, 1931, 875-906.

²² When called before the select committee of 1826, Malthus grudgingly admitted that emigration might be a temporary solution to the 'over-population' problem.

²³ In 1829 Cobbett used his *Emigrants' Guide* to recommend emigration to the United States, but this was because he considered conditions in Great Britain intolerable and asserted that life in the British colonies was even worse.

²⁴ Illustrative of the divergent opinions held on emigration was the case of Michael Thomas Sadler. Sadler professed a kind of Tory socialism similar to Horton's, yet most vociferously attacked Horton's emigration schemes and at the same time the Malthusian theory. (See his book, *Law of Population*, published in 1830.) Sadler's evangelicalism and feeling for the poor would not allow him to believe that emigration, banishment to him, was necessary for survival.

²⁵ Sir Francis Bond Head, *The Emigrant* (5th ed., London: John Murray, 1847), p. 28.

²⁶ The liberal wing of the Tory Party secured several basic reforms in the late 1820's, thereby demonstrating that many of the upper class were willing to make necessary adjustments.

Emigration pamphlets prior to the repeal of the emigration restrictions explained that workers who had not been employed in the manufacture of wool, cotton, iron, steel, brass, or any other metal, or in the making of clocks, watches, etc., and who wished to emigrate to America should procure a certificate, signed by the minister of their church and by the churchwarden and countersigned by a resident magistrate. The certificate would state that the worker was not and had not been a member of the prohibited trade. However, the oath of the emigrant certified by the landlord of a respectable house at the embarkation port was also legally sufficient. The law was so laxly enforced that even the last method seems to have been seldom practised.

²⁷ Economics as an academic subject was becoming established in England between 1820 and 1840. But, among the members of the Political Economy Club, founded in 1821, and the first five holders of political economy chairs in the universities, only Herman Merivale and Robert Torrens gave consideration to emigration. Merivale became a member of the classical school and, following their theories, minimized the value of emigration. He probably would not have written anything on the subject had not the rules founding the chair of political economy at Oxford required the publication of some portion of the lectures each year. Torrens favoured using the empire as an outlet for trade and emigration much in the same way as he supposed the West served the United States. He argued that by following his plan Britain could become as free from pauperism as America.

²⁸ Fred N. Hitchins, *The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, 1840-78* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), p. 9.

²⁹ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), II, 1831, 875-906.

³⁰ C. O. 384/27, Correspondence, Emigration: 1831.

³¹ *Ibid.* *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Report to Colonial Office from Agent-General for Emigration, 1838, XL (388), 4.

³² 4 & 5 Will. IV, c. 76, sec. lxii.

³³ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Report to Colonial Office from Agent-General for Emigration, 1838, XL (388), 4. Hitchins, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

³⁴ J. G. Malcolm, *An Enquiry into the Expediency of Emigration* (London: L. Nichols, Earl's Court, 1828), p. 5. Robert Torrens, *Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Eliot, on Colonization* (2nd ed., 3rd printing; London: Trelawney Saunders, 1849).

³⁵ Robert Southey, *Essays Moral and Political* (London: John Murray, 1832), II, 275.

³⁶ Malcolm, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

³⁷ William Kingdom, Jun., *America and the British Colonies* (London: G. & W. B. Whittaker, 1820), p. 328.

³⁸ Helen J. Cowan, 'Early Canadian Emigration to the United States', *The Dalhousie Review*, VIII (1928), 76.

³⁹ Frances Morehead, 'Canadian Migration in the Forties', *The Canadian Historical Review*, IX, No. 4 (1928), 309.

⁴⁰ John R. Commons, 'Racial Composition of the American People', *The Chautauquan*, XXXVIII (1903), 333. Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 16. Harry Jerome, *Migration and Business Cycles* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Ind., 1926).

PART I

THE EMIGRATION MOVEMENT

CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURISTS: CORE OF THE EMIGRATION MOVEMENT

DURING the early Victorian era, the emigration issue was discussed by a medley of British observers. Travellers, Members of Parliament, journalists, humanitarians, and political economists indorsed the necessity or deplored the *naïveté* of the movement. Travel accounts seldom failed to evaluate the merits or catalogue the deficiencies of life in the western world, and since many of the authors were either from, or closely associated with, the landed classes, they naturally considered the agrarian reaction the most important phase of the activity.¹ Parliament, also composed mainly of landed interests, viewed the problem of agricultural distress and the possible relief offered by emigration as a subject of considerable import and of far greater urgency than the analogous predicament faced by the urban unemployed. The most often repeated theme found in the diverse assortment of emigrant guides published in the thirty years bridging the mid-nineteenth century was that agriculturists, especially the operative farmers, should attempt North American settlement, and newspaper and periodical comments supporting the emigration idea most frequently dealt with the agrarian exodus.

Making what was considered an unusually complimentary pronouncement on American society, the widely-read *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* stated that 'every American loves farming. In this the Americans resemble the Ancient Romans and the English. . . .'² Other literati sketched the ideal emigrant as a hard working, young farmer, with a large family, capable of supplying a labour force, and with sufficient finances to establish himself on a small, partially improved estate which native Americans were always eager to sell. Propaganda inspired by groups concerned with furthering the interests of the western world generally encouraged rural Britons and not urban dwellers to depart. Land was the one commodity America had in abundance; its cultivation enhanced the value of the entire community and made the cultivator a prize of no little worth.

Most humanitarians came to realize that it was the agrarian classes who could benefit most by leaving; America always had openings and offered good opportunities for farmers, while professional or industrial groups sometimes found positions more difficult to secure across the Atlantic than in crowded British cities. The subject was summed up by a rather sweeping aphorism: some mechanics could be absorbed by the United States, but nine out of ten emigrants would be obliged to enter into agricultural or pastoral pursuits.³ Charles MacKay, after his tour of North America in the late fifties, asserted that the great want of Canada was people, but only labouring people, as the country already was swarming with unwanted and unneeded immigrants. He stressed that Canada needed farmers instead of intellectuals, and at the same time argued that English farmers had no future if they remained at home, 'though no *serf de iure*, he is a *serf de facto*'.⁴

Speaking to the British investors, Colonel Robert Torrens insisted that the often-quoted maxim that capital created its own field for investment no longer applied to British agriculture since the time had been reached when further employment of capital in land would not yield profits commensurate with the investment. Yet England needed more and more food. Torrens believed that wealth should be concentrated in manufacturing at home or in land in the colonies. Therefore, any increase in the agrarian population should emigrate to North America and provide the required food for Britain.⁵

Although not always agreeing with the Torrens' economic philosophy, many who objected to the emigration of all other classes granted that it was permissible for the farmers to leave.⁶ In an article discussing the vicissitudes of British agriculture, even *The Times* admitted that emigration was the most often suggested remedy for the rural perplexity and conceded that the measure might produce temporary relief. This was no mean concession since, prior to the mid-forties, *The Times* steadfastly opposed the movement.⁷ But in many areas of Britain the problem had become acute. Collapse of the kelp industry in the Scottish Highlands and Islands, the widespread potato blight, a series of bad crop years extending through the late thirties and well into the forties, the generally depressed state of trade and scarcity of gold, a large number of enclosures in northern England and Scotland, and a complete lack of imagination in dealing with even minor socio-economic prob-

lems helped to foster an agrarian environment in which emigration flourished.

Atlantic emigration and migration to metropolitan areas began to be felt in Britain in the late twenties. Several districts in the south of England, Cornwall and Wiltshire in the west, and Kent, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and the East Riding of Yorkshire in the east all began to report local areas of depopulation. Through the thirties, the rural exodus spread; it became especially noticeable in all the counties of the east and south coast with the exception of Durham, Dorset, and Hampshire, where the growth of industry and shipping counteracted the agricultural losses.⁸ Most active of the emigration regions were the counties of Sussex, Surrey, and Kent. The reports of the Poor Law Commissioners, reports of the United States Consul in London, and the widely publicized emigration projects of the Petworth and Dorking areas point up the unusual attention south-east England was giving to the activity.⁹ With the exception of Derby, neither the Lake District nor the Midlands experienced any large agrarian losses before 1830.

Between 1831 and 1841 agrarian emigration became more common throughout Scotland, the depopulation being most severe in the Highlands and Islands. In 1839, Dr. Thomas Rolph, a Canadian resident, published a letter addressed to His Grace the Duke of Richmond, President of the Highlands and Agricultural Society of Scotland. He showed that Scotland was undergoing the worst rural destitution in her history, and suggested Canadian settlement as the remedy for the distress. Later Rolph did a great deal to promote such migration.¹⁰

During the forties, when many of the rural counties underwent their greatest decrease in population, the emigration movement spread through practically the entire country. Especially notable were the departures from the south-western English, central Welsh, and Scottish Highlands counties.¹¹ Although the fifties represented an era of economic improvement and a time when landlords and large farmers were generally prosperous, conditions for small farmers and agricultural labourers improved more slowly. The lower agrarian classes, therefore, added to the emigration momentum, and letters and financial aid from friends and relatives in America helped to swell the outward flow.

Emigration from the farmer and gentry ranks pointed up the self-sufficiency and individual enterprise of the British people. The more affluent agriculturists ask for neither assistance nor direction,

but rather for a thousand personal reasons arranged their own itinerary and financed their own departure. Less extensive in terms of numbers leaving, but of greater heterogeneity and historical complexity, was the assisted emigration. It was thought baneful that the medieval serf should be tied to the soil; perhaps it was more pernicious that the nineteenth century agricultural labourer had no soil to which to tie. Many rural workers, therefore, were not only anxious to leave their homeland, but were often encouraged to do so. Landlords were eager to clear their estates, reduce their poor rates, and perhaps incidentally benefit the sparsely-settled colonies.

THE FARMER

The farmer was the key to the entire agrarian organization. He was the lessee from the large landlord, the employer of agricultural labourers, and the managing specialist who directed the manner and methods of tillage. The group occupied a position in the agrarian society similar to that held earlier by England's 'proud and sturdy' yeomanry. Farmer withdrawals, while more difficult to trace, exceeded those of any other class of agriculturists. Similar to the general rural migration, their pattern of removal started first from the south-east of England, spread, with a quiet, wavelike exodus, to the west of England by the early forties, and later mushroomed to Wales, the Midlands, and Scotland. Of course, in addition to the heavy emigration from specific areas, there was the traditional scattered departures from all parts of the country.

Weaving in and out through the British countryside, stimulating the farmer migration, were agents representing numerous public, private, corporate, and religious enterprises. In Warwickshire, a Member of Parliament who advocated a colonization society helped to foster the movement.¹² Along the Tweed, the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company enticed English and Scottish farmers to New Brunswick,¹³ while in Wiltshire the British-American Association awakened interest in Upper Canada.¹⁴ George Flower of Albion, Illinois, wrote letters to encourage the farmers near Stratford-upon-Avon to try the land of the Midwest prairies.¹⁵ The Rev. B. W. Chidlaw returned to Wales from Ohio to preach the virtues of America¹⁶ at the same time that other religious teachers were converting many farmers in the west country to Mormonism as a prelude to emigration.¹⁷ Countless other deliberate stimuli, as well as the inadvertent irritations of

depression, high rents, and crop failures, were working to dislodge the traditionally stable farmer.¹⁸

Because of similarity in language, customs, and economic and political organization, the British emigrants were assimilated quickly by the ever-expanding society. Farmers settled in all sections of the country, but the rapid mid-nineteenth-century expansion into the Old Northwest where soil was fertile and land cheap led to the greatest numbers going to that relatively undeveloped region. Cheapness of land and sparsity of population allowed for more group settlement, and permitted the Britons to imprint their characteristics more indelibly upon the western communities. Each region of America had its British advocates. Discussions were common in English and Scottish journals between persons who had never been west of the Severn or the Clyde as to whether upper Canada, the Mississippi and Ohio river valleys, or the Republic of Texas was the best place to go. The arguments were mainly academic as Britons were flowing into all three regions.

Advertisements pointing up the advantages of Texas settlement had for some time been attracting industrious English and Scottish farmers. The Englishman, turned Mexican army officer, Arthur G. Wavell, and the American, turned Mexican intriguer, Benjamin Milam, first brought Texas to the attention of British agriculturists in the late 1820's and early 1830's. Wavell and Milam were primarily interested in peopling their empresario grant in north-east Texas with British Catholics. They failed in the attempt as did a contemporary emigration promoter, the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company. The latter association, with headquarters in New York City, represented four empresario grants in south-east Texas, and during the early thirties had emigration agents in both England and continental countries. After the war for independence, Texas received more extensive publicity in the United Kingdom and 'considerable numbers' of emigrants took ship for the new republic in 1840, 1841, and 1842.¹⁹

During the early forties, numerous pedlars of Texas lands descended on the British Isles. The *Morning Chronicle* for February 25, 1840, indignantly detailed a specific example of the promotional activity that had become commonplace throughout the kingdom. A British ship carrying a party of emigrants who had purchased 'large quantities' of Texas lands from Arthur Ikin of London arrived at the port of Galveston some time during the winter of 1839-40. According to the *Chronicle*, Ikin had not a 'shadow of

title' to the estates, but in turn had procured the land script from John Woodward, the Texas Consul at New York; Ikin, therefore, was technically absolved from any attempt to swindle the emigrants. The entire episode was given wide circulation in Great Britain through a statement ascribed to the American Consul of Velasco, Texas, and sworn to before the Collector of the Port at Galveston on May 30, 1840. It read:

To all whom it may concern in the Kingdom of Great Britain, United States, Republic of Texas, and elsewhere, be it known, that from information just received, I Stewart Newell have good reasons to apprehend that a certain person, named —, [in reprinting the name was left blank] now or late a resident of the city of London, in the Kingdom of Great Britain. has been using my name in reference to the validity of title in certain documents called Script, of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company of New York, purporting to be titles to land in Texas. And I am further informed that said — [name blank] represents his having a certificate or affidavit, with my name attached thereto, and sworn to before a magistrate or other public officer, wherein I have deposed to the truth and validity of said titles.

Newell further explained that in his opinion the entire land script promotion was a base fraud.²⁰

Although the public vindicated Ikin, he was more directly involved in emigration promotion than many of the contemporary journals realized. The Republic of Texas had granted to Jonathan Ikin of 23 Threadneedle Street, in lieu of his claims upon the treasury, a colonization contract. In working out the details of the grant, Arthur Ikin, son of Jonathan, made at least two trips to Texas during the late thirties and early forties. Realizing that British recognition of Texas independence would enhance the value of their lands, young Ikin worked closely with Texas officials in London, and on his journeys to America acted as their courier for official documents. After British recognition, Ikin was Texas consul in London for several months in 1841, and even recommended the men who were to fill similar posts in other British cities.

By the spring of 1842 a small party of emigrants, recruited from the Scottish Lowlands, northern England, and Yorkshire, were to sail in June for Ikin's estates in Texas. It was imperative that the settlement be made immediately, otherwise the Ikin contract for colonization would become void in September 1842 because of non-fulfilment. But unfortunately for Ikin the prospective colonists had been appraised of the border incidents between Mexico and Texas, and gave credence to a report then current in Britain that

Texas was about to be invaded by the Mexican army. They therefore were led to suspend their plans for emigration.²¹

The first British arrivals in the Southwest were often dissatisfied with the climate, frontier life, and uncertain political conditions; therefore it was not until after the Mexican War that Texas became an important outlet for United Kingdom emigrants. Scotsmen began to arrive in Grimes County in 1848 and Midland families moved into Cass County in 1849;²² however, as will be noted later, the most spectacular parties of mid-century emigrants to Texas were not composed of farmers, but rather of tradesmen and mechanics.

By 1850 there were 18,600 English settlers in Illinois, most of whom, with the exception of those in the lead-mining districts, were farmers. The establishments at Albion, Carlyle, and Prairie du Lond were of early origin, but the majority of the English settlers in Winnebago, Vermilion, Lee, La Salle, Peoria, Stephenson, Will, and McHenry counties arrived after 1835. It was estimated that some 10,000 English, virtually all of whom had left by the time of the 1850 census, had been in the Nauvoo area in 1844.²³ Scots began to flow into Illinois about the mid-thirties, and by 1850 some 4,660, a large part of whom had settled in Peoria and adjoining counties, were living in the state.²⁴ Many Yorkshiremen and Lowland Scotsmen began grouping in the Jacksonville area in the thirties; the community expanded slowly and maintained definite British characteristics until long after the Civil War. British travellers to central Illinois in the forties or fifties seldom missed seeing an old friend or carrying greetings to or from some farmer of the region.²⁵ Even the early Birkbeck-Flower colony at Albion began to experience a rebirth in the 1830's, when large parties of farmers, chiefly from Yorkshire and Buckinghamshire, began to arrive.²⁶

Iowa and Wisconsin were also drawing their share of British farmers. In the early summer of 1850 George Sheppard led a party of artisans from the Hull area to Clinton County, Iowa, but the colony dissolved within a few months as the newcomers disliked pioneer life. Later, however, farmers, mostly from the village of Killingham in Lincolnshire, succeeded in forming a permanent settlement in the same county; and eventually a St. George's Benevolent Association was established and its president, William Lake, actively encouraged British emigration. There were only 712 native-born Scotsmen in Iowa in 1850 compared with 2,895 in 1860, while the 3,785 native-born Englishmen in the state in 1850 had increased to 11,522 by 1860.²⁷ English communities were

common in Wisconsin. One in Racine County took the official name of 'English Settlement', and became quite well and accurately known in England through the letters of Edwin Bottomley written between 1842 and his death in 1850.²⁸ The many Cornish and Welsh going to south-west Wisconsin, north-west Illinois, and southern Missouri were interested primarily in mining, but farming was generally conducted as a secondary occupation.

Cultural and political ties led some British farmers to favour the North American colonies in preference to the United States. Large landowners and particularly the Canada Company and the British-American Association encouraged the choice by offering liberal inducements for the purchase and settlement of their lands. Such activities especially attracted the Scots, who were inclined to prefer Canada, while the English farmer more often selected the States or Australia. Emigration statistics clearly pointed up the trend. In 1854, 6,706 Scots emigrated to British North America and a slightly smaller number, or 4,888, to the United States; whereas in the same year only 6,064 English went to British North America compared with 37,644 to its southern neighbour.²⁹ Another tendency which appears clear in the agricultural migration was that the two extremes of society, the lower class labouring groups and the sons of gentry, preferred the North American colonies; whereas the middle class, independent yeomen were inclined to choose the republic.³⁰

THE WELSH AGRICULTURISTS

Because of a conspicuousness in language and culture, the Welsh of America were more readily recognized and more easily identified than the English or Lowland Scots. During the one hundred years prior to the accession of Victoria, Wales had witnessed a complete social transformation. The change, generally attributed to the Calvinistic, Methodist revival, stimulated the Welsh people to maintain their formerly vanishing language, and with the preservation of the Celtic tongue came a new output of literature, and, most important of all, a school of mighty pulpit orators. Much of the revitalization and even preservation of the language can be credited to the evangelical eloquence of the preachers. Dissatisfaction with economic and social conditions also became apparent in the demand for better education and in the utterance of a long dormant hope for national survival. Realization that there was a land beyond the sea where the hated Anglican clergy influenced neither Church nor state stimulated the self-assertiveness of the Welsh, intensified the

dissatisfaction with home, and made the glories of America appear more effulgently.

The first truly Welsh settlements in America were made under the supervision of William Penn in the early 1680's; however, the enthusiasm soon waned and it was not until the late eighteenth century that Wales was spurred into a second and more extensive migration. In 1795, a party from Llanbrynmair, Montgomeryshire, made their way to Ebensburg, Cambria County, Pennsylvania; their success dissolved the inhibitions of others, and during the following decade several settlements were founded in the Quaker state as well as in New York. By 1801, a small group of Welsh had ventured down the Ohio River as far as Cincinnati, and then moved inland for some twenty miles and established the outpost of Paddy's Run, now Shandon, Ohio. It was at Paddy's Run in 1802 that William Bebb, a future governor of the state, performed the historic function of being the first white child born in Butler County.

Bebb's active mind and serious nature led him to become a schoolmaster, lawyer, and finally politician and statesman. At the same time he nurtured much of his Welsh culture and formulated plans which he hoped would allow for large-scale Welsh migration to America. His ideas seem to have been first given expression in a letter of November 1, 1837. Bebb, writing to the Rev. Michael Jones, of Bala, Merionethshire, father of a young lady who had emigrated to Ohio, explained that Mary Ann had arrived safely and was most happy. She was quoted as saying: 'Oh, if father and mother were to come to America we would buy land in the new country and build us a little cottage in the middle of the forest and there we would live so happy'. Bebb then discussed the climate, soil, public works, and educational system of Ohio at great length and eventually acknowledged that he for several months had been contemplating 'a design' to bring Welshmen to the New World. While professing to describe America impartially, he, nevertheless, used such tempting phrases as: 'No man is a beggar here from necessity'. 'You would bid a last farewell to tythes, lords, and beggars.' 'Your taxes would be comparatively nothing and your poor rates literally nothing.' And in conclusion he requested: 'Show this to my cousins Roberts and Bebbs and other relatives at Llanbrynmair and present them my love'.³¹

Although nineteenth-century Welsh emigration increased after Waterloo, not until the mid-thirties did large numbers of farmers,

first from Cardiganshire and Montgomeryshire, but soon from other counties, begin to flow to Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio.³² The stream of agriculturists was diverted about 1840 mainly towards Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, and continued to go to the upper Mississippi valley until the Civil War.³³ Formation of the various Welsh settlements in Jackson, Gallia, Allen, Butler, Van Wert, Licking, and Delaware Counties in Ohio, near Oneida, Utica, Steuben, and Remsen, New York, and scattered throughout Pennsylvania and the West attest to the number of farmers and farmer-miners who left. Returns by the government Emigrant Agent at Quebec on the size of the migration to Canada in this period is misleading, since many of the Welsh emigrants entered the United States by way of the St. Lawrence because ocean transport was cheaper by that route.

Hundreds of Welsh were streaming into Ohio by the time William Bebb was elected governor of the state in 1846. Early in 1847 a party of about sixty emigrants, under the leadership of the governor's cousin, another William Bebb, arrived at Paddy's Run. Later the same year the two William Bebbes visited Illinois and Wisconsin in search of a suitable estate upon which to plant a colony, and eventually two or three sections of government land were purchased along the Rock River in Illinois. Although some months later the site for the new Welsh settlement was changed to Van Wert County, Ohio, a few of the migrants moved on to Illinois, and after the governor refused the Whig nomination for a second term, he, in 1850, also located on the Rock River tract.³⁴

As the already oppressive Welsh economic conditions tended to grow worse in the late thirties and through the forties, it was Samuel Roberts, a cousin of Governor Bebb and a Congregational minister of great influence in Montgomeryshire, that came to the fore as the guiding conscience for his countrymen. Roberts, commonly styled 'S. R.', was a leader of public opinion, a man of cultivated literary tastes, and an authority on agriculture. He was an outspoken opponent of slavery, a pioneer in the fight for Welsh disestablishment, had supported the Anti-Corn Law League, and translated Byron. *Y Chronicl*, published at Dolgelley for three halfpence, was edited by Roberts, and represented the leading organ of Welsh political expression. Preacher Roberts first pleaded with landlords, then scolded them, and finally, after they refused to alter their harsh and calloused treatment of the Welsh farmers, bitterly attacked and denounced them. He succeeded in so markedly

increasing the dissatisfaction and in arousing so much unrest that hundreds of tenant farmers poured down the narrow valleys to the seaports and took ship for America.

In a pointed article entitled 'Cofiant Y Tri Brawd o Llanbrynmair a Conway', published in *Y Chronicl* in July 1852, Roberts asked the landlords if they were aware of the 'Facts Concerning Emigration'. Sixteen facts were then tersely set forth. That very morning over seventy people, most of them young and 'in the flower of life', left Llanbrynmair for America. An even larger number had left a neighbouring community a few days earlier. Five or six such large companies, plus numerous smaller groups, had left Llanbrynmair within recent years. Settlers in America were sending money for friends and relatives to follow. Roberts had only a few hours earlier received £80 which was to be used to assist a local family to depart.³⁵

Other clergymen and writers throughout Wales were espousing the cause of emigration, but Roberts and the Rev. B. W. Chidlaw were perhaps the most effective in arousing the agriculturists. Chidlaw, with his parents, had migrated to Ohio when only ten years of age, and after attending university was, in 1835, chosen Congregational minister at Paddy's Run. In an effort to perfect his Welsh, he made a hurried trip to the 'old country', and for two months, both weekdays and Sundays, preached the gospel and talked of American opportunities. In 1839 he revisited Wales, and for eight months again discussed the advantages offered by the United States. Chidlaw was 'a great agitator' of 'America for the Welsh'. Welsh-Americans, even after the turn of the twentieth century, could recall their childhood and recount the fascinating stories which Chidlaw in glowing Welsh told of the New World.³⁶

While visiting Montgomeryshire in 1855, ex-Governor Bebb and his cousins, Samuel and Richard Roberts, worked out a plan whereby a Welsh colony could be established in eastern Tennessee. A few Welsh had already settled in the Huntsville and Wartburg areas of the state, and Bebb believed that a railroad running south from Cincinnati would soon connect the region commercially with Ohio. Bebb, E. D. Saxton of New York City, a Mr. De Cock of Antwerp, and Even Bebb Jones, a Welsh-American land surveyor and speculator from Ohio, were responsible for Samuel Roberts' purchase of 100,000 acres of land in Scott, Anderson, Cumberland, Campbell, and Morgan Counties, Tennessee. On June 3, 1856, Richard Roberts, brother of Samuel, sailed with a first detachment

of settlers, and on May 6 of the following year Samuel set out for the new life to be found at Brynffynnon, eight miles west of Huntsville, Tennessee.

Almost from the first, failure stalked the enterprise. Many who originally promised to purchase lands and emigrate changed their minds, the estates were isolated, the soil lacked fertility, and dissension became apparent among the settlers. But the most ruinous development was the discovery that the vendor for most of the land purchased had not held a clear title to it. Eventually Governor Bebb moved to Knoxville, and during 1860 made a concerted legal effort to hold much of the territory and sustain the colony. However, the slavery issue had become explosive, and Bebb's abolitionist tendencies rendered him *persona non grata* in Tennessee; while, on the other hand, Roberts' aversion to force led him to condemn the militant action of the North. With the beginning of hostilities, the entire project collapsed, and most of the settlers scattered to northern states, although some located near Somerset, Kentucky, and a few remained in Tennessee.³⁷

Samuel Roberts returned to England in 1867, and was followed by his brother, Richard, in 1870. Even after a decade of American reverses, 'S. R.' was still a hero in his homeland, and in March 1868 a gift of £1,245 was made to him as a material testimonial of the affection and esteem with which he was held by an appreciative Welsh people.

THE GENTRY

The emigration of nobles and gentry composed the smallest division of the agrarian exodus. Although Britons carved out extensive cattle baronies in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain West after the Civil War, few from the upper class cared to live in the United States before 1860: British North America enkindled somewhat more interest. Major Samuel Strickland, a settler in the Peterborough area of Upper Canada, fostered the emigration of several young English gentlemen whom he trained in Canadian agriculture. Later, they purchased land of their own and became successful colonial farmers.³⁸ Many in Britain thought that similar projects could be effectively undertaken if a 'colonial baronage' were established. Since the gentry and nobility generally abhorred republican attitudes and philosophy, they quite naturally wished to reproduce in British North America a miniature of the society they had known at home. Supporters of the movement pointed to the

potent forces of history and tradition to substantiate their claims. An aristocracy had not only flourished in both the Greek and Roman colonies, but statesmen like Pitt, Fox, Burke, and Lord Grenville had indicated that they favoured satellite social organizations identical with those in Britain.³⁹ It was contended that the unequal political and social status forced on colonials led thousands of British emigrants to prefer the United States.

There are two things which always present themselves to the mind of an emigrant, and are always placed by him among the circumstances which are deemed to be reasons against expatriation. The one is the uncertainty that attends every step of his progress. The other is the inferiority of position which, as a colonist, he is to occupy.⁴⁰

It is perhaps worthy of note that many who called for an aristocracy to lend prestige to the inferior position of the colonials opposed granting them responsible government, and in some cases even self-government.

Several Tories believed that the establishment of a 'colonial baronage' would eliminate the possibility of Canada's becoming a republic, and at the same time disprove the arguments of Manchester men who contended that the colonies could not be held.⁴¹ In short, a colonial nobility would go far to correct the disastrous flaw in the eighteenth-century colonial system; it would save British North America from 'dropping from the tree'. Stressing the political rivalry with the United States, it was further suggested that an aristocracy would allow English institutions to cover the globe, rather than produce republican offspring to thwart and oppose her.

Probably many among the upper classes were less interested in the colonies as such than in securing an outlet for their sons who, finding the Church, army, navy, and law overcrowded, were bereft of suitable positions at home. One writer rather inanely observed that sons of aristocracy often became soured on the world by abstaining from marriage, while others married only to live in aristocratic poverty.⁴² Young blue bloods were encouraged—perhaps inspired—to emigrate by a 126-page, romantic poem, *The Emigrant's Reverie and Dream*. It, with Victorian eloquence, told of a fifth son of an upper-class family who married the wrong girl, and was consequently disowned; whereupon he crossed the Atlantic, led a hard life, but finally achieved happiness and prosperity.⁴³

Many of the liberal Whigs were confident that the emigration of gentry had been deterred by an unwise government policy. Charles

Buller blamed inefficient management, limited control by public officials, and the practice of transporting convicts for having created the impression that emigration was the punishment for guilt or the bitter necessity of the poor. Ill-regulated and irregular emigration of the labouring class resulted in overcrowding, filth, disease, and misery at embarkation docks, on board ships, and at debarkation points. Thus another stigma was attached to emigration and emigrants. With so little thought being given to man's physical comforts, obviously his mental, moral, and religious requirements were completely ignored. Buller reasoned that, under the prevailing conditions, persons of rank could not be expected to become part of the movement voluntarily. And, consequently, when respectable people of the upper and middle classes by necessity were required to leave Britain, they quietly made their own arrangements. But invariably they chose the United States where there were superior opportunities, and criminals and paupers would not be thrown among them. The argument of the Buller-Molesworth group was, therefore, that settlement of British North America should be made pleasant and respectable; the emigration system should be re-organized and the colonies given responsible government. If this were done, gentry and nobility would become interested in the development of colonial estates, and later, of their own volition, settle on them.⁴⁴

Opinions varied as to the advisability of encouraging the 'better classes' to leave. British travellers like Bonnycastle, Logan, and Matthew thought private gentlemen and the sons of gentry made ideal settlers since they normally became successful in the New World.⁴⁵ Logan stipulated that an emigrant gentleman should have at least £500 in ready funds. Kingston, an ardent supporter of the colonies, suggested that, in order to be assured that the growing communities would have leaders of the British type, a temporary return to the old system of grants was urgently needed as the best way to attract gentry to colonial lands. He further believed emigrants should be from the two extremes of society while the productive middle class should be encouraged to remain at home.⁴⁶ The patriotic, yet equitable, John Robert Godley reasoned that a man should never emigrate unless he was financially forced to do so. But if moving became an economic necessity, Godley thought the United States an ideal country in which to regain one's fortune.

The true moral theory of emigration is perhaps this—when a man, after mature consideration, and due diligence, can find for himself in his own country no work

to perform, no place to fill, he is justified in seeking them, if possible, in another; nay, he is bound to do so, for no man has a right to be a drone in the hive. . . .

Since the gentry had a place to fill and work to do in Britain, they should not go to America. In pressing his point home, Godley pointed to the possibility of war with the United States, and the inconsistency of English gentlemen supporting England's enemies.⁴⁷

Reports from a few persons of standing who had emigrated were not so optimistic as those made by the arm-chair planners and hasty travellers. Witness the classic work by Catherine Traill, wife of a British army officer who settled in Canada. She emphasized that gentlemen should have an independent income before considering emigration, and since people left Britain in an effort to better themselves, anyone having money and position at home could not benefit by leaving. She stated forcibly that if gentlemen's sons were to succeed in the bush, they must chop trees and carry water.⁴⁸

Fortunately, all were not as caustic as the authoress, who, after writing two large volumes on the misery emigration would bring to gentle people, concluded:

If these sketches should prove the means of deterring one family from sinking their property, and ship-wrecking all their hopes, by going to reside in the back-woods of Canada, I shall consider myself amply repaid for revealing the secrets of the prison-house, and feel that I have not toiled and suffered in the wilderness in vain.⁴⁹

Such views coincided closely with a body of colonial opinion which sought to discourage the emigration of fops and dandies. Publicizing and summarizing the attitude of many colonials, John Beverley Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, told young gentlemen who had never worked at home and were acquainted only with idleness and dissipation to stay away from Canada as their type seldom improved with adventure.⁵⁰ Similar candid remarks from other leading Canadians, coupled with the obvious privations and hardships consequent to emigration and settlement in the New World, led to a negligible influx of British aristocracy.

THE FARM LABOURER

Agricultural labourers were by necessity assisted to emigrate. And when aided by public funds, the Poor Law of 1834 required, and in all cases the United States vigorously insisted, that such destitute persons be directed to the colonies. Assistance to the rural workers stemmed from one of three sources: direct aid by the

landlords usually with the view to clear their lands of pauper-ridden tenants, help given under authority of the Poor Law Act and other official contributions, and gifts and tickets commonly forwarded to Britons by friends or relatives in America. Very few English labourers were sent out by the first method. At the same time that English landlords financed migrations from their Irish estates, they opposed the departure of their English tenantry. There were exceptions, however. The Earl of Egremont in 1833 defrayed the expenses of two parties of Canadian-bound emigrants from the Parish of Petworth in Kent; the Earl of Heytesbury in 1837 sent out forty-five persons from his estates in Wiltshire; and there were a few philanthropic-minded English gentlemen like Arthur Mills, who in 1845 recruited Daniel Wakefield to lead a party of Warwickshire agriculturists to the Blenheim district in Canada West.⁵¹ In addition, some few families were sent out every year through the combined contributions of the local landlord and parish authorities.

Scotland did not have a system of Poor Law emigration until the fifties, and with many estates overcrowded and agricultural labourers completely destitute and dependent upon public charity for survival, landlord-financed migrations became common. By 1837, after years of misery and hardship, conditions in the Scottish Highlands became intolerable; it appeared literally to be a matter of starvation or mass emigration. Since Canada refused to finance the transport of Britons, and became involved in a rebellion, the British Government adopted in 1836-37 a special programme whereby Highlanders were assisted in their emigration to Australia. The operation, however, was shortlived. Preference for Canada by the Scots and that colony's renewed encouragement of immigration starting in 1839 and 1840 again shifted the Highlanders' interest to the west.

Perhaps the most grandiose scheme to resettle British, notably Scottish, agriculturists in North America was that devised and publicized by the imaginative, though over-zealous English-Canadian, Dr. Thomas Rolph. A member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Rolph apparently migrated to Upper Canada about 1833. He rather quickly became interested in the developmental problems faced by his adopted land, and came to accept the premise that Canada's basic need was for more people. In 1836 he published a statistical account of Upper Canada, but it was during the confusion and pessimism following the Canadian Rebellion that the doctor found the opportunity to suffer himself into a personality of trans-Atlantic notoriety.⁵² While yet on duty with the colonial

army, the energetic doctor addressed a letter on March 6, 1839, to the assembly of Upper Canada in which he suggested that immigration was the one remedy most certain to alleviate Canadian ills. By June of the same year his services with the government had been terminated, and he, with Dr. Macdonell, Roman Catholic Bishop of Lower Canada, had sailed for Britain with the 'express purpose of restoring emigration' to the North American colonies.⁵³

Almost simultaneous with the Macdonell-Rolph arrival in England, Thornton Leigh Hunt published a pamphlet which pictured Canada as a rather unproductive and lethargic land when compared with the United States. Since Rolph had repeatedly contended that similar inaccurate and unfriendly statements by Britons had for years been damaging the growth of Canada, he devoted his first weeks in England to writing a refutation to Hunt's work. Later he answered other writers who were equally critical of British North America.⁵⁴

From London, Rolph travelled to Scotland, and after attending an agricultural meeting at Inverness on October 4, he addressed a public letter to His Grace, the Duke of Richmond, President of the Highlands and Agricultural Society of Scotland. The statement, which received wide newspaper publicity, pointed to the precarious livelihood eked out by thousands of human beings who inhabited the cold and unproductive recesses of northern Britain. Many Scotsmen were existing on one meal a day, and that of periwinkles and limpets, and living in unheated cottages because of the shortage of dry peat. The doctor was positive that conditions for many of the human beings residing in the Highlands and Islands were the most miserable ever endured in the long and hectic history of Scotland. In contrast to an existence without food, fuel, or hope, Canada was sketched as a land of fertility, opportunity, and abundance, and the obvious asylum for Scotland's starving masses.

A few weeks later Rolph was in Glasgow, and with the co-operation of the Lord Provost formed a local emigration society dedicated to the procurement of funds with which Highlanders were to be sent to Canada. From Glasgow he proceeded to Greenock, thence to Ireland, and within a few weeks back to southern England. Life had become a busy round of speech-making, public dinners, and editorial writing. On December 12, 1839, he was made an honorary member of the Central Agricultural Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and since the organization represented nearly eighty local agricultural societies, Rolph's opportunities to

propagate emigration doctrines were greatly enhanced. But, as will be noted later, it was the doctor's introduction to and close association with Sir Richard Broun that was to be of most significance. Broun was an honorary secretary of the Central Agricultural Society and also an honorary secretary of the Scottish Baronets. The first baronets had been created some two centuries earlier, at least partially for the purpose of settling British North America, and during the 1830's their descendants had renewed ancestral claims to much of Nova Scotia.

On January 10, 1840, the Duke of Argyll, a Highland proprietor, called a meeting of the principal noblemen, Members of Parliament, and other Scottish leaders. After Rolph, the Rev. Norman MacLeod, and other emigration enthusiasts spoke to the assembly, the body voted unanimously to petition both Houses of Parliament for assistance in transporting their destitute labourers to Canada. And eventually the Scottish gentlemen formed a committee to further the emigration movement.⁵⁵ A few days later a meeting of the Highlands and Agricultural Society stressed the same issues. The committee met in London on February 8, 1840, and over the following weeks reformed into the North American Colonial Committee, with the Earl of Mountcashell as president.

By March, Rolph had made a whirlwind trip through the west country, and with the collaboration of Sir Richard Broun was feverishly preaching emigration promotion and Corn Law protection to the agricultural societies of southern England. In addition, the doctor was, with Norman MacLeod, publishing a new Gaelic magazine almost exclusively devoted to the encouragement of Highland emigration.⁵⁶ Many Scottish noblemen and gentlemen assisted Rolph in his campaign to secure government funds, and by May 20 delegates from the North American Colonial Committee were granted a much-heralded, though unproductive, interview with Lord John Russell, the Colonial Secretary.⁵⁷ Before sailing for home in July 1840, Rolph was fêted, eulogized, and showered with letters of appreciation. He had ingratiated himself with the Scottish nobility, inspired hope among the destitute agriculturists, lectured Members of Parliament, and flooded the Colonial Office and emigration commissioners with suggestions on how to proceed in the necessary step of transporting agriculturists to Canada.⁵⁸

Rolph was received in Toronto in September 1840 with 'unbounded enthusiasm', and from Upper Canada's queen city travelled over most of the province organizing emigration societies. By

October 14 the Canadian Emigration Association, a central agency heading up the various local emigration groups, had matured in Toronto. By providing plots of fifty acres of land for qualified emigrants, the association hoped to become a reception station for persons sent out by the many British societies. In November, Governor-General Sydenham appointed Rolph emigration agent for Canada, and after holding meetings in the eastern provinces and receiving instructions from the authorities, the doctor again sailed for England on January 1, 1841.⁵⁹

During his second and more official visit to Britain, Rolph was even more vigorous than formerly. He, with the North American Colonial Committee, drew up memorials which were presented to the Colonial Office: he worked with land companies interested in North America; he induced H. Baillie, M.P. from Inverness-shire, to call for a select committee to inquire into conditions in the Highlands and Islands, and was twice called to testify before the committee; he encouraged Neill Malcolm and other Scottish landlords to finance the departure of some of their tenantry; he with his friends flooded pro-colonial journals with articles depicting the necessity for emigration to Canada; and he personally spoke to many of the nearly sixty emigration societies that had sprung up in Scotland. Also during the spring and summer of 1841, agent Rolph and Sir Richard Broun became the activating force in forming a public company known as the British American Association. The Duke of Argyll consented to be president of the company, but before policies could be drawn up, the Governor-General of Canada recalled Rolph, and no further action was taken during 1841. By the time the doctor arrived in America, Sydenham had died; consequently, Rolph devoted the autumn and winter of 1841 to a campaign aimed at exciting greater Canadian concern in immigration. In February 1842, Governor-General Bagot reappointed Rolph Canada's emigration agent.⁶⁰

By April 1842 the doctor was again in England, and after being presented to the Queen, threw himself into the promotion of the British American Association. The impression was given that the new company was unofficially associated with the Colonial Society, the Baronets of Scotland and Nova Scotia, and the various agricultural societies; therefore, leading men throughout Britain and especially in Scotland permitted the use of their names in connection with the enterprise. At a meeting of the association held in London on June 8 it was decided that four seigniories (200,000 acres) in

eastern Canada and some 74,000 acres on Prince Edward Island should be purchased for settlement. Approximately £50,000 were needed to obtain the lands and finance the migration of the first British parties. Therefore, 10,000 shares of stock were placed on the market, but it was understood that no call for funds was to be made until the entire issue of stock had been subscribed. At the same time negotiations were started for the purchase of other large tracts in both eastern and western Canada. All lands acquired by the corporation were to be administered by a board of commissioners who were in turn under the supervision of a consulting council. Income was to be derived from the sale, lease, or rent of the estates, and all profit was to be divided periodically among the shareholders. The company's prospectus was impressive; it could point to a membership which comprised 1 duke, 4 marquesses, 4 earls, 7 barons, 39 baronets, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, 4 banking houses, and sundry other persons and organizations.⁶¹

In August 1842 Rolph and a Canadian associate, Sir Allan Macnab, decided to return to Canada, presumably to enlist financial support. They hoped to obtain a tax moratorium or other adjustment for their Canadian estates, and perhaps secure additional favours from the Canadian Legislature. But the Parliament, while presenting Rolph with many verbal compliments, made no material concessions. On recrossing the Atlantic in November 1842, Rolph for some unexplained reason landed at Le Havre, and proceeded on to Paris. By the time he recrossed the Channel to London, the British American Association was fast approaching its inglorious end.

During the summer of 1842, British opposition to both the Canadian agent and his enterprises began to be registered in public as well as in private circles. In June the editor of *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Advocate* declared that Rolph and Macnab had over-run 'their discretion' unless 'extravagant pretensions' and 'cunning' was their object.

Does he [Rolph] or any other man dream of inducing emigrants to embark for Canada under the auspices of an association who openly avow that their chief aim is to enrich the members of their order from funds to be obtained through the disposal of lands to which they have no earthly prospect of giving a legal title?⁶²

Official sources were equally concerned with Rolph's agitation among the lower classes. A private memorandum, neither addressed

nor signed, but rather obviously written by the emigration commissioners for information and study by the Colonial Secretary, was forwarded to the Colonial Office in July 1842. The commissioners explained that during 1841 Rolph had concurred with capitalists in London on terms calculated to lead to disappointment and distress for those going to Canada; had encouraged many 'unfit and unsuccessful' Scotsmen to emigrate; and had deliberately held out 'exaggerated hopes' of assistance in Canada by emphasizing to the prospective emigrants that he was the colony's official representative. He had acted so unwisely that Governor-General Sydenham had been forced to give him a 'reproof'. The memorandum was emphatic: 'Dr. Rolph's appointment was uncalled for'. The want was not to encourage emigration, but to find means to carry it out.

Upon the same principle on which interference from home is so much deprecated in the colonies, they might be expected to agree that the public servants in England are fittest to discharge the duties to be performed in England. . . . Of Dr. Rolph it can be no hardship to say, since the impression is so universal, that discretion is not the characteristic by which he is distinguished, but that on the contrary he has a passion for declamation, which renders him a peculiarly unsafe instrument in functions of the delicate kind that have devolved upon him.

Later the same month a private letter suggesting that Rolph should not be reappointed emigration agent was sent from the Colonial Office to Sir Charles Bagot.⁶³

In September 1842 the British American Association chartered a ship with which they hoped to carry a body of needy emigrants to Prince Edward Island. The company had contracted with a Mr. Halden to employ the new settlers on estates which the association agreed to buy. Only a few days before the scheduled sailing of the *Barbados*, the Colonial Secretary was informed that the vessel was to sail illegally. After a careful check, no irregularities were found. Whereupon, the complainant alleged that the conditions under which the emigrants had been recruited were improper. Again the *Barbados* was detained, and again the investigation showed no illicit practices.⁶⁴ Since the ship's sailing had been delayed until late October, the emigration commissioners advised the association to defer the entire project until the following spring. The emigrants dissented, however, and the vessel put to sea on November 1, 1842. A month later, it was caught in severe storms in the North Atlantic, damaged, and on December 23 forced back to Cove, Ireland. Englishmen associated with the New Zealand Company held a

mortgage on the craft; they foreclosed, and the vessel and emigrants were returned to London.

Rolph, correctly but futilely, charged Sir John Pirie, the Lord Mayor of London and an advocate of New Zealand settlement, with having delayed the ship's sailing and having brought misery and near-death to the emigrants.⁶⁵ However, well before the *Barbados* fiasco, the Duke of Argyll had withdrawn as the association's president, and many others of the nobility claimed that their names had been used without consent. After the December return of the vessel, Rolph, whose official status as Canadian agent ended December 31, 1842, worked desperately to revive the enterprise, but eventually even he and Sir Richard Broun became estranged. Rolph maintained that he was in no way responsible for the company's failure, while Broun declared that the doctor had not only founded the association, but was also the key figure in the attempted Prince Edward Island settlement.⁶⁶

Dr. Thomas Rolph was not a man of cramped vision or mediocre persuasiveness. By February 1843 he had secured an appointment from the Governor of Trinidad to remove the Negroes of Canada to that island, and while the somewhat fantastic scheme did not materialize, it served to divert the doctor's attention from other failures.⁶⁷ He finally settled in Portsmouth, England, and for some years supplied the colonial magazines with lengthy articles on the necessity for immediate mass emigration to Canada. Although lacking prudence and discretion in his direct approach to colonial settlement, his philosophy of emigration had penetrated the consciousness of thousands of Britons.

Though Rolph's projects failed and the government refused to help finance an extensive emigration programme, Scotland had been aroused. Large landholders like the Duke of Argyll, Duke of Sutherland, Colonel Wyndham, and Neill Malcolm proceeded on their own to foster the departure of hundreds of their tenantry.⁶⁸ By 1841, the Scottish landlords were sending Canada over 700 people per year; the figure rose to approximately 1,000 per year for 1842 and 1843, after which the number markedly declined until a second exodus developed towards the end of the decade.⁶⁹

The counties of Perth, Kinross, and Argyll decreased in population after 1831, Inverness after 1841, and Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, Ross and Cromarty, and Sutherland after 1851.⁷⁰ Further proof of the migrations was quickly demonstrated in Canada. During the winter of 1841, the St. Andrews Society of Montreal alone cared

for 229 destitute emigrants who had just arrived from the barren Island of Lewis.⁷¹ Conditions improved somewhat after 1843, but then again became desperate in the late forties and early fifties. In 1851, 3,466 Scotsmen were aided by their landlords to emigrate to Canada.⁷² The unusually large emigration in 1851 was due to 986 persons who were sent out by Sir James Matheson from his newly acquired estates on Lewis, and 1,681 forwarded by Colonel Gordon of Cluny from the islands of South Uist and Barra. These followed about 1,000 others who had left the Harris, Uist, Benbecula Island chain in 1849.⁷³ Speaking no English and arriving in Canada late in the autumn, the Gordon emigrants of 1851 were kept from starvation only by the liberality of many charitable societies. The Canadian people, however, were so aroused by the dumping of paupers upon their shores and sent such vigorous objections to British private and public emigration agencies that the number of assisted agrarian emigrants from Scotland did not exceed a few hundred per year for the remainder of the decade. Starting in 1852 with the founding of the Highlands and Islands Emigration Society by Sir Charles Trevelyan, rather more encouragement was given to the transporting of Highland paupers to Australia than to British North America.

The 1834 English Poor Law was the first concrete step in the realm of parish or official assistance to emigration. It granted statutory power to local poor relief bodies to raise money on security of the rates. The funds were to enable parish guardians to finance the departure of poor persons from the parish.⁷⁴ Prior to 1834 there were isolated examples of English parishes granting money for emigration purposes, but the 1834 law gave the first instructions in the matter.⁷⁵ While applying both to urban and rural areas, the emigration clause of the Poor Law was utilized almost totally by the country districts. Three hundred and twenty persons were sent to North America in the first year of the law's operation; some fifty of the number went to the United States in direct contradiction to the regulation which stated that parties emigrating should go to British colonies.⁷⁶ For the year beginning July 1, 1835, 5,141 were sent out; the United States received a larger percentage than in 1834.⁷⁷ From 1836 to 1845, 800 to 1,000 persons were emigrated per year. The number declined to approximately 200 during the latter forties, rapidly rose in the early fifties to around 3,000, then slowly dropped after the middle fifties until in 1860 only 55 persons were sent out under the act.⁷⁸

Migrations to the United States were discontinued in the late thirties as those to Australia began; the latter country received a larger number of migrants than British North America through the fifties. The emigration clause of the Poor Law, especially during its first years of operation, was used mainly by south-east England. If an imaginary line had been drawn from the mouth of the Severn to the Wash, all but a scattered few of the emigrants would have been found to have come from districts to the south and east of the line. Although Sussex, Kent, Suffolk, Somerset, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire were among the most active participants in Poor Law emigration, the Welsh counties of Carmarthen and Merioneth, as well as Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire to the north, were beginning to use the act by the early forties. By December 31, 1860, 25,852 persons, the great bulk of whom were poor agriculturists, had emigrated under the authority of the 1834 law.⁷⁹

Scotland did not have a Poor Law similar to that of England, and even when a Board of Supervisors for the Relief of the Poor was set up in the mid-forties, no provision was made by it for emigration. In 1851 this deficiency was partially corrected through the Emigration Advances Act.⁸⁰ The Act allowed, on official approval, funds set aside by the government for land improvements to be borrowed by landed proprietors to defray the expense of sending out their tenants. In short, emigration, as well as draining and ditching, was deemed an improvement for an estate. Immediately landlords throughout the Highlands made requests and received loans for the purpose of such clearances of their lands. Consequently, many of the Scottish emigrants, being sent out at the expense of the landlords through the fifties, were indirectly receiving official assistance since the government often loaned the money to the landowners.

The extent to which direct remittance from friends in America contributed to British emigration, specifically the agrarian exodus, cannot be accurately determined. However, the large sums of money forwarded across the Atlantic no doubt stimulated thousands of citizens, otherwise satisfied at home or too poor to leave, to embark for the New World. Fairly accurate figures on the amounts transferred through banks and mercantile houses were preserved, but they applied to the United Kingdom as a whole and apparently a sizeable portion of the funds were directed to Ireland.⁸¹ Nor was any estimate made of the currency or number of ship passages sent back to Britain through private channels, and, indeed, it was never

ascertained what part of the funds forwarded was used for emigration purposes. Husbands and fathers frequently went alone to America, and later sent for their families. In some cases, after the husband left for the United States, the wife, often being on the poor rates, would ask for assistance in order that she might join her spouse. The requests were granted at first, but as their number increased and many families adopted the practice in an effort to secure emigration to the United States at parish expense, such aid was discontinued. Males, nevertheless, continued to precede their families. In 1844 173 widows accompanied by 488 children and grandchildren passed through the Quebec port to join sons and daughters, while 245 women with 713 children entered the same port to join husbands.⁸²

PROMOTION OF EMIGRATION BY AGENTS FOR NORTH AMERICAN LANDS

Governments and private citizens, both north and south of the forty-ninth parallel, tried from time to time to induce British agriculturists to emigrate. In British North America the major land companies were perhaps the most active private agencies in recruiting United Kingdom farmers. However, during the early forties and again in the fifties, Canadian writers vigorously protested the lack of British support for colonial settlement, and marshalled reams of facts in reply to authors who, inadvertently or otherwise, hinted that the United States or Australia was the emigrants' best home.

Officially, the emigration activity of the North American colonies was interlaced with the programme conducted by the Colonial Office. Naturally there was overlapping between the functions of the home and those of the colonial governments. As will be seen later, A. C. Buchanan, who served for over thirty years as immigrant receiving agent at Quebec, was chosen by the Colonial Secretary, yet was paid throughout much of the period from the colonial land and timber fund. He and similar agents in other Canadian cities rather accurately reflected the country's need for or surplus of settlers, and thereby kept Westminster, and presumably prospective emigrants, apprised of the advisability of going to Canada. Starting in 1843, the *Colonization Circular* issued by Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners gave publicity to the emigration needs and demands of the major colonies. Nevertheless, the

governments of British North America in periods of prosperity and rapid growth took further steps to foster agricultural settlement.

Although adopting official means to promote immigration in the late thirties and early forties, it was not until the mid-fifties that Canada made a concerted effort to attract Britons. In 1856 the legislature appointed a special committee to inquire into reasons for the large emigration to the United States during the previous five years. Response from the one hundred and one questionnaires sent to the people in all parts of the country indicated that the chief problem was the difficulty in securing land. Therefore, partially as a result of the report, the government opened up a homestead project in the region west of Ottawa.⁸³

Pamphlets pointing up the salutary life to be found in Canada were, under the supervision of Philip M. Vankoughnet, the Minister of Agriculture, published at government expense and given wide circulation in Britain. The London office of the *Canadian News* disseminated the authorized material, and in addition produced many semi-official pro-Canadian studies.⁸⁴ As the campaign for emigrants continued and even intensified during the late fifties and early sixties, official as well as unofficial publications went through numerous editions. These were supplemented by printed lectures, essay contests, newspaper editorials, and especially by booklets designed to counteract pro-Australian and pro-American literature.⁸⁵

New Brunswick's emigrant promotion programme rather closely followed the Canadian pattern. During the early forties, the colony endured considerable economic distress; therefore, could absorb few new settlers. In fact, internal conditions grew so precarious that notices were posted in the United Kingdom advising hopeful emigrants not to come.⁸⁶ By 1845 the situation had improved sufficiently for a lady settler to proclaim the pre-eminence of her adopted home over all other lands, while over the following few years other private works emphasized the agricultural advantages to be found in the largest maritime colony.⁸⁷ In 1847 the local legislature appointed a select committee to study the emigration issue, and in response to its recommendations and after considerable prompting from Downing Street, several pieces of legislation designed to stimulate an influx of settlers were introduced in the assembly. They generally failed at ratification.

The New Brunswick emigration agent, M. H. Pearley, was in London during the late forties, and was sufficiently active and well known to be summoned before the bar of the House of Lords to

give his views on colonization. It was another decade, however, before the colony initiated an extensive campaign for emigrants.⁸⁸ In early 1857 agent Pearley opened an office in London, and under the title of Her Majesty's Emigration Officer had by April published a handbook for emigrants. The pamphlet was reprinted in part and given wide circulation throughout Britain. It detailed the many opportunities inherent in New Brunswick, and especially stressed the area's superiority over the New England states.⁸⁹ By 1859, with the drive for Britons becoming greatly intensified, the most public-spirited groups made emigration a topic of primary concern. The Saint John Mechanics Institute, in attempting to contribute to the public weal, offered prizes for the best essays on the subject, 'New Brunswick as a Home for Emigrants: with the Best Means of Promoting Immigration, and Developing the Resources of the Province'. Authors of the two entries adjudged best received substantial monetary rewards, while the first five essays were printed at government expense and diffused 'throughout the Provinces and the United Kingdom in a very liberal manner'.⁹⁰

During the late thirties and early forties the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company had furthered emigration to both maritime provinces; however, it was not until the late forties that Nova Scotia, like most of British North America, grew anxious to receive settlers. A reversal of the earlier disinterest in emigration became evident by 1849; in 1854 government officials appeared eager to welcome many of the distressed residents of Newfoundland, and within four more years the provincial Parliament had ordered the publication of emigrant tracts and their wide distribution throughout Britain.⁹¹ Although most emigration publications were not wholly directed towards a rural migration, the great majority of the books, pamphlets, articles, advertisements, and official reports stressed the British North American facility to absorb self-sufficient farmers. Agricultural families with some capital, ability, and experience could be most readily assimilated into the American colonies' agrarian economy.

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century extensive tracts of sparsely-settled land in the Appalachian Mountains were held by owner-speculators who offered them for sale at only a few cents per acre. But the low price notwithstanding, the mountainous area extending from Pennsylvania to Georgia was continually being passed over by emigrants seeking the more fertile plains of Kentucky

and the Old Northwest. In the pre-Revolutionary days land companies had secured sizeable grants in the mountain and plateau regions, and had occasionally fostered the settlement of small parties along the more accessible rivers. However, by the mid-forties, with lands from Texas to Minnesota coming before the public, and emigrants swarming ashore at every debarkation point, several owners of large estates in western Virginia decided it time to launch an active selling campaign. The policy of waiting for the region to 'fill up' naturally, and thereby automatically enhance the value of remaining estates, had not proved satisfactory.

In every respect the gentleman chosen to direct the programme in Britain seemed the ideal choice. Thomas Rawlings had formerly been editor of the *Cheltenham Chronicle*, and after his arrival in New York had immediately become a leader in the Episcopal Church, a close friend of the British Consul, an active participant in immigrant welfare work, and eventually the editor of *The Old Countryman and Emigrants' Friend*.⁹² By the mid-forties Rawlings was widely known in both Britain and America as an enthusiastic exponent of emigration. In 1845 he had published an *Address to the Clergy of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales* in which plans were set forth whereby relief victims were to be assisted in crossing the Atlantic.

During the spring of 1846, Peter Clark, representative for a land company controlling 400,000 acres, and William O'Connor, manager of estates listed at half a million acres, suggested that Rawlings become their British agent. They agreed to sell their western Virginia tracts for \$112.50 per 150 acres; the money was payable \$12.50 in hand and the balance in five annual instalments of \$20.00 each with the annual interest at 6 per cent. The farms sold were not to be in a block, but rather selected somewhat at random from the entire tract so that the original property owners could enjoy the increased value which would accrue to the remaining land.⁹³

During the spring and summer of 1846, Rawlings collected, mainly through Clark, an entire series of writings attesting to the fertility of soil, richness of mineral deposits, salubriousness of climate, rapid expansion of transportation systems, and various other agricultural and economic advantages to be found in western Virginia.⁹⁴ Even the Rev. William H. Lewis, Rector of the Calvary Church, Brooklyn (both Rawlings and Clark were active members),

bestowed his blessing upon the project. After lauding Clark's 'philanthropic endeavours', he further pressed his appeal:

I would commend to my brethren of the clergy and laity, the consideration of the inducements which this particular tract of land may possess, with the conviction that to the sober, industrious, and religious of our mother country, whom we are always ready to welcome to our shores, a home may there be found where the best blessings of home may be easily and abundantly enjoyed.⁹⁵

As added 'grist' for his English advertising campaign, Rawlings snatched excerpts from *Hunts' Merchants' Magazine*, the *American Agriculturist*, and other New York journals like the *Tribune*, *Commercial Advertiser*, and *Journal of Commerce*. Business man A. B. Quinby of New York was persuaded to ask his brother, J. B. Quinby of London, to assist Rawlings in every way possible. The absence of slavery in many western Virginia communities, and the fact that certain counties had memorialized Congress praying for its abolition, was thought worthy of considerable emphasis. And as something of a *finalis*, excerpts from letters and speeches of Thomas Jefferson and George Washington, in which they spoke favourably of Virginia, were interpreted to mean the lands that were open for sale.

After his arrival in Liverpool in the spring of 1846, Rawlings made arrangements with Joseph Hubback to operate, at 4 Leicester Building, King's Street, a land and emigration office, and then set to work to complete a pamphlet on emigration. As published a few weeks later, pages one to fourteen of the tract were a restatement of a plan devised by Rawlings in New York several months before; he strongly urged English parishes to transport their unemployed workers to the United States. The latter half of the booklet consisted of letters and comments on western Virginia, and was designed to stimulate purchase of and emigration to the lands in that area.

A study of Rawlings' accomplishments during the following eighteen months is somewhat anti-climatic. Some advertising of the cheap American lands was carried in local newspapers, but the programme offered no advantages but what the prospective farmers could expect to find after their arrival in America, and British investors, already having speculated too heavily in unremunerative American projects, were not attracted by the unpromising Virginia hills.

After the failure of his first efforts, Rawlings, by the summer of 1847, had induced several reputable and well-known Liverpool

citizens to co-operate with him in the founding of a new agency known as the Western Virginia Land Company. But the same issues of the *Liverpool Mercury* which carried the prospectus of the reorganized company also printed an announcement by Peter Clark in which he informed the public that Rawlings was no longer authorized to act for him as a land salesman.⁹⁶ Rawlings hastened to reassure all readers that Clark's action in no way affected the new association, and that the Western Virginia Land Company held nearly one million acres through which two railroads would soon pass. He was prepared to dispose of the property for sixpence an acre down payment, with five years in which to pay the balance, and would make liberal grants to religious and benefit societies.

The second Rawlings venture was little more successful than the first. Only a few Britishers, mostly Welsh, purchased land in Virginia. Returning to New York about 1849, he continued with his emigrant welfare work. Later this energetic Anglo-American became involved in a controversy over the settlement of the Hudson Bay region, but eventually he was able to return to England, and during the Civil War period served as an agent for Minnesota lands.

The people of Britain, however, were not allowed to forget the unusual benefits to be found in western Virginia. In March 1848 one Samuel Saunders deserted his wife and family, and in the company of another woman left his Manchester home; a few weeks later he sailed for the United States. In New York City Saunders met William O'Conner and presumably Peter Clark, and by November 1848 had returned to England as the agent for the United States Land and Emigration Society of New York. Establishing an office in Theobald Road, London, Saunders proceeded to advertise the western Virginia estates of his employers, and, having long since abandoned the Manchester woman, solicit the attention of London ladies. But in February 1849 he was apprehended by Manchester authorities and forcibly returned to his wife. Undaunted by the turn of events, Saunders forthwith opened his land and emigration agency in Manchester. He had 'sold tracts of land to between 200 and 300 persons' in London, and for a few months was apparently equally successful in his new location.⁹⁷

By late 1849 sharp criticism of the Saunders' agency had developed. Archibald Prentice, one-time editor of the *Manchester Times* and a proponent of American settlement, led the attack, while Joseph Barker, publisher of *The People* in nearby Wortley, eventually challenged Saunders to an open debate on the fertility

of O'Conner's western Virginia lands. Barker and his brother had visited the area and found it isolated, deserted, and very mountainous. While not able to answer Barker's charges, Saunders continued his agency until June 1851, when a Mr. Booth, purchaser of 200 acres in western Virginia, returned from America and charged Saunders with gross misrepresentation. The latter was abusive and bombastic, and after trying to have Booth forcibly ejected from his office, was himself eventually committed to jail.⁹⁸

In the year following Rawlings' first emigration campaign, still another agent arrived in England as the spokesman for Virginia speculators. David Hoffman was a man of undoubted ability, but he was also unusually brash and had a flare for becoming involved in petty controversy. As a native of Baltimore, he had become Professor of Law in the University of Maryland, but after two or three acrimonious disputes over both legal and personal matters, resigned his post, and in 1847 moved to London to study and write. After authoring a series of articles for the *London Times*, and receiving an honorary degree from Oxford, his legal experience, impetuous nature, and tendency towards speculative enterprises led him into several unrealistic, if not ludicrous, ventures.

In early 1848 Hoffman published an emigration pamphlet addressed to the British people. After encouraging emigration and citing western Virginia as a particularly rewarding district for settlers, he set forth and developed forty points designed to prove that a British-American Land and Emigration Company should be established. Financed by the selling of 2,000 shares of stock at £100 per share, the company would purchase lands for resale, settle persons on long and short leases, provide a special emigration fund, furnish maps and diagrams of estates offered for sale, employ travelling agents to inspect lands, and co-operate with all societies and groups interested in emigration. A second suggestion that a semi-monthly emigration journal be founded to advertise and publicize the activities of the company was less carefully detailed.⁹⁹

During 1849 numerous techniques for selling land were employed. One impressive advertisement carried the caption 'MUST BE SOLD. COME AND MAKE AN OFFER.' It was then revealed that in the valley of the Great Kanawha River, only twenty-five miles from Guyan-dotte, lay a recently-surveyed estate of 21,300 acres. In addition to being a fertile agricultural region, it was 'in the heart of a rich mineral country, hardly inferior to any in the world', and was known to be productive in 'coal, lime, ironstone, marble, and salt'.

The owner had been repeatedly advised not to sell, but he was a 'necessitous' person and not financially able to hold the estate until its wealth could be developed.¹⁰⁰

Although Hoffman's first efforts to secure emigrants were unrewarding, he lost none of his enthusiasm and immediately cast about for a more effective way to capitalize upon the stream of humanity crowding British embarkation ports. By May of 1850 he had in a sense accomplished his objective by becoming a participant in the predominately Texas venture known as the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company.

In May the first issue of the company's newspaper, *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger*, was published. As its name implied, it was to direct and assist in the settlement of continentals and Britons in all parts of the world. Listed as a fortnightly, although issued monthly, the paper, with a quickness which belied its written objective, turned to the publicizing of Texas, and to a lesser degree the Appalachian region and other American lands. Brief, but flattering, advertisements on western Virginia farms were supplemented by lists of ships sailing for Philadelphia. The latter city was not only the most direct route from Britain to western Virginia, but also was the home of speculators like William Huber. Huber, who was cited as holding some 800,000 acres of the advertised land, kept Hoffman well supplied with items from the Philadelphia papers that referred favourably to the Virginia highlands. Such articles, plus surveyors' statements and comments by local county officials, were promptly printed in *The Messenger*;¹⁰¹ however, since English agriculturists remained indifferent to the entreaties, the latter part of 1850 found Hoffman's name and advertisements appearing less frequently.¹⁰²

During the winter and spring of 1851, *The Messenger* made its last important effort to attract emigrants to western Virginia. Notices began to appear in the January issue from a man in Liverpool who had decided to settle in Mercer County, high in the Virginia Appalachians. By March the gentleman had determined to locate a colony, and welcomed 'respectable persons' to accompany him. Invoking little or no response, April, the month in which the party was to have sailed, came and went without further comment. May, however, found R. C. Gist, the Liverpool agent for the Universal Emigration Company, and the rather obvious sponsor of the Mercer County emigration scheme, still turning out an occasional laudatory statement on western Virginia.¹⁰³

The Messenger had gradually shifted its attention to Texas, and by February 1851 the editor printed, though it was later retracted, a letter in which Appalachian lands were declared of little value. The decline in publicity was partially the result of British disinterest, and partially because Hoffman had become the agent for John Charles Frémont and Thomas Hart Benton in a project to sell or lease California mining lands in England. In 1853 Hoffman returned to the United States, renewed his contacts with Philadelphia and New York speculators, and was ready to embark for London, when, on November 11, 1854, he suddenly died. With him died western Virginia's attempts to attract British farmers.¹⁰⁴

Thomas Rawlings, Samuel Saunders, and David Hoffman were perhaps more colourful personalities, but certainly no more energetic than numerous other agents who offered the land of the Appalachians to the British public. One of the principal exponents of Tennessee immigration, an Englishman, J. Gray Smith, had settled at Montvale in the Great Smoky Mountains in 1838. Within four years after his arrival in Blount County, he was employed by local landowners, and returned to England to conduct a campaign to publicize eastern Tennessee. Following the familiar pattern, he established a land company in London, then wrote a seventy-one-page booklet complete with drawings and prints in which the unusual productive capacity of the southern Appalachians was set forth. Indian corn, hemp, wool, fruits, flour, whisky, brandy, feathers, silk, tobacco, horses, mules, and cattle were only a few of the district's agricultural products.

On the other hand, the impossibility for substantial improvement within the British economy was equally stressed. Smith explained that Britons, even with Corn Law protection, were finding conditions depressed and food expensive; but with the repeal of the Corn Laws, America could undersell British farmers, and at the same time would develop her own manufactures; consequently, a Briton's only possible alternative to the permanent acceptance of charity was to emigrate. Eastern Tennessee, and especially Johnson County, near Smith's home, was singled out as a particularly rewarding region.¹⁰⁵

By a fortunate coincidence, a handbill which publicized Tennessee lands was inserted in the back of the copy of Smith's pamphlet catalogued by the British Museum; there it has been preserved. The little grey broadside in brief, but adulatory, phrases told of 179 farms which were for sale in eastern Tennessee. All were good

for agriculture and many offered, because of the abundant water power, an opportunity for industrial development. For additional information, prospective emigrants were directed to Mr. Kearns of the East Tennessee Land Company at 5 Red Lion Square.

With the 1843 upturn in economic prosperity, emigration became a less urgent issue for many Britons; it was not, therefore, until the critical years of the late forties that Smith again returned as a salesman for Tennessee lands. The second campaign, consisting primarily of advertisements and letters scattered throughout emigrant journals, showed much less puissance than the efforts in the early forties. Many of the comments were no more than statements of defence aimed at neutralizing the critical attacks made by some of the British travellers who included eastern Tennessee in their itinerary.¹⁰⁶

Although the activities of the Virginia and Tennessee immigration agents provoked considerable opposition, it was the over-zealous promoters of Georgia lands which spurred many Englishmen to censure and condemn the means being employed by American agencies to secure settlers. The major immigration effort emanating from Georgia was the outgrowth of twenty years of speculation. In 1827 Thomas Spalding was issued a charter which authorized him to cut a canal or construct a railway from the Ocmulgee to the Flint River, thereby connecting the Atlantic Ocean with the Gulf of Mexico. No immediate action was taken, but in 1840 a new company was formed and grading on the seventy-seven miles of railway begun.¹⁰⁷ With the depression of 1841 investors refused to contribute further capital and most of the work thereafter was performed by Negroes and Irishmen. The former were loaned by planters who were to receive company stock in return for the labour, and the latter were directed to the region by Bishop England of Charleston. The Catholic prelate thought it an expeditious means by which to found a settlement for the unemployed of his faith.

When Georgia's vacant lands were thrown on the market in 1843, the company purchased a wide area on both sides of the proposed railway, and soon thereafter a land agency was established in Philadelphia. It was hoped that the sale of land would produce the much-needed revenues for further railway construction. When the colonization effort failed, Bishop Reynolds, who had succeeded Bishop England at Charleston, hoped to save the Church investment and protect the Irish workers by securing a controlling interest in the company. Eventually, Richard Keily of No. 1, Royal Exchange

Building, was named by the bishop as the London salesman for the Irwin County tract. Keily was also the English agent for estates in Early, Lowndes, Baker, Decatur, and Thomas Counties. Easy transportation, productive soil, and a facile climate were among the familiar superlatives used to detail southern Georgia's natural advantages, and as an introductory offer, the first 50,000 acres of land were to be sold at five shillings per acre, whereas later the price would be raised to six shillings.¹⁰⁸

Provincial, as well as emigrant, newspapers carried the customary advertisements with dilated reports of the opportunities to be found on the pine-covered plains of Georgia. Lectures were held, and by early 1849 the Georgian Emigration Company was formed. On February 22, 1849, the first British emigrants sailed from Liverpool, and over the following weeks one or two other small parties seem to have gone out.¹⁰⁹

As early as the autumn of 1848, however, only a few months after the campaign got under way, an active opposition to Georgia settlement began to appear. One of the first anti-Georgia letters was published in *The Times*, and forthwith many of the emigrant journals took up the theme. Protesting correspondents were generally landowners who, seeing the Georgia announcements in local newspapers, wrote to warn the unsuspecting farmers that the southern climate was unfavourable for British settlement, the soil exhausted, slave labour commonplace, and land titles often in error. A damaging report came from a Mr. Smyth of Dublin who had purchased a thousand acres and sent out four or five Irish families.¹¹⁰

Apocryphal stories were circulated in an effort to demonstrate the worthlessness of Georgia estates. One anecdote with several versions explained that after the state's waste lands had been divided into allotments and distributed among its citizens, one man gave his land deed to a tortoise, and then thrust him into a hole. For three decades before the Civil War, Augusta, Savannah, and other north-eastern Georgia cities were bitter economic rivals of the southern part of the state; as a result they circulated most disparaging accounts of Irwin County.

The Keily publicity campaign eventually received its *coup de grâce* through a New York *Journal of Commerce* article which was re-published in England. Taking the information from a Milledgeville newspaper, the New York publication on September 13, 1849, discussed the land agency in London and the 'flaming account' given of Georgia. The land offered for sale in England could be purchased

in Georgia 'for the fees of the grant, five dollars per lot [490 acres per lot], being considered useless for cultivation'.

The agency, of course, is a swindle—and Englishmen, induced by the representation made, have paid the price demanded, come out to this country, hunted up their lands, and found that they had lost their time, and at least 500 dollars each, by the transaction.¹¹¹

While few regions compared with the Appalachians in the amount of land open for sale, it should be emphasized that there were local landowners in every part of America who would have been delighted to dispose of their estates to sturdy British agriculturists. The exceptional aspect of the agents representing the Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia districts was their unusually aggressive efforts to incite an influx of United Kingdom subjects. A single issue of one emigrant journal offered lands for British settlement in Elk, McKean, and Jefferson Counties, Pennsylvania; Mercer, Wyoming, Tazewell, Greenbrier, Nicholas, Fayette, Braxton, and Kenawha Counties, Virginia; Vandenburg, Warrick, Gibson, Pike, Daviess, Clay, Greene, and Marion Counties, Indiana; Christian, Sangamon, Macon, Mason, Cass, Coles, Clark, Morgan, Scott, Greene, Macoupin, Logan, Menard, Montgomery, Shelby, McLean, and Woodford Counties, Illinois; Chariton, Randolph, Carroll, Linn, and Livingston Counties, Missouri; Branch, Ottawa, Kalamazoo, Calhoun, Van Buren, Kent, Jackson, and Allegan Counties, Michigan; Grant County, Wisconsin; Saint Lawrence County, New York; Warren County, Tennessee; and unspecified areas in North Carolina, Georgia, and Texas.¹¹²

With nearly every major region of America fostering immigration, considerable competition quickly developed. Gray Smith apparently was convinced that the new factories rising along the Atlantic seaboard were one of Tennessee's chief competitors for British emigrants. He proceeded to warn Britons that upon their arrival in America they should be on guard against employers who would attempt to secure their services in an effort to extract valuable bits of technical knowledge from them. Smith further charged that manufacturers were currently inducing workers 'to enter into their employ, under the fallacy that there is no encouragement for them in the west, when, as soon as they get all the information the emigrant is possessed of, he is discharged'.¹¹³ During the summer of 1850, when many agriculturists from Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire were leaving, and others were working on

a scheme to purchase an estate in the upper Mississippi Valley, agents representing southern interests declared it a serious mistake for the west-country farmers to settle in so desolate an area when so many fine lands were still available in Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, and Florida.¹¹⁴ But several of the newer northern states were equally conscious of the worth of Europeans.

Although many state governments conducted active immigration programmes following the Civil War, the movement had been initiated in the 1840's, and several states had taken up the practice by the fifties.¹¹⁵ Obviously, state-employed immigration directors did not limit their activities to the introduction of agriculturists, but their work was primarily directed towards rural settlement. In March 1845 the House of Representatives and Senate of the State of Michigan passed a resolution to establish an agency in New York City for publicizing the state among incoming foreigners. However, John Almy, supervisor of the New York office, resigned in April 1845 after only two months' service, and the advertising campaign was temporarily disbanded. In March 1850 Governor John S. Barry in a lengthy message to the senate vetoed a bill designed to reinstate the agency. Three years later, Governor Robert McCelland suggested that the state again attempt emigration promotion, but in the latter instance the legislature refused to act. Although the possibility of furthering foreign settlement within Michigan was frequently discussed, further legislative action was not taken until 1859, and that was directed mainly towards the introduction of Germans.¹¹⁶

Wisconsin first took up the issue of immigration in the early fifties. In May 1852 an office was opened in New York City, and by 1853 Herman Haertel, director of the state's agency, was proclaiming Wisconsin's virtues through articles in *The Times*, *Tipperary Free Press*, and other journals of the United Kingdom. Between March and December of 1853, over 2,000 Europeans, many of them with one of Haertel's pamphlets or articles in hand, visited Wisconsin's New York City emigration office. In December 1853 Haertel estimated that his advertising had been partially responsible for 2,000 to 3,000 Englishmen, Scotsmen, Dutchmen, and Swedes going to Wisconsin during the preceding nine months. Haertel was replaced by Frederick Horn in 1854, and the work discontinued in 1855.¹¹⁷

The legislature of Minnesota, after earlier attempts, passed a bill in 1855 authorizing the appointment of an emigration commissioner.

Soon thereafter Eugene Burnand was named for the post and served actively for two years. The project was abandoned in 1858. As early as 1848 Minnesota had made her advertising début in England in which *l'étoile du nord* was pictured by private speculators as the flourishing new land of opportunity.¹¹⁸ It was not, however, until the early sixties that Minnesota's official agents, and many private ones as well, opened an extensive campaign throughout Britain.¹¹⁹

Although the Governor of Iowa recommended the appointment of an immigration director in 1852, and again in 1854, the state deferred any concentrated effort to secure foreign settlers until 1860.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, an emigration association was organized by private citizens in 1858. In addition, speculators holding lands in the state and employers interested in securing labourers were, through the American consul at Londonderry, conducting an active programme for United Kingdom workers. During the mid-fifties the consul, James R. Smith, circulated notices calling for as many as 30,000 workers at one time. After brief periods of employment at \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day, the new arrivals would supposedly be able to buy the most fertile land in America for a very modest price.¹²¹

Yet another, and somewhat more subtle, type of emigration promotion was pursued by an imperious gentleman from the Midwest, Major John B. Newhall. Migrating to Iowa from the eastern seaboard in 1834, Newhall rather quickly accumulated a small fortune, and in 1841, with the approval and encouragement of the governor and other officials of the territory, published a lengthy pamphlet on that rapidly-growing frontier region. A few months later he sailed for the British Isles, where he travelled and conducted a series of lectures. Centring his discussions around life in the West, and especially on the opportunities to be found in newly-developed districts like Iowa and Wisconsin, he, with much effectiveness, contrasted the competition and overcrowding so common to England with the undeveloped resources and sparse population of the upper Mississippi Valley. By 1843 Birmingham, Liverpool, and other Midland newspapers were extolling Newhall's interesting and illuminating talks on western America, and by the following year emigrant societies were thanking him for his valuable and informative discussions on Iowa.¹²²

In 1844 Newhall wrote an emigrant guide for the British public in which he decried the activities of land agents and speculators.

When will men cease to be mercenary? and learn to believe there is a loftier purpose to live for than bowing to the shrine of mammon.¹²³

After giving full credit to Newhall's humanitarianism, it still remains doubtful if his British tour was made only *pro bono publico*. While he publicized no specific tract of land, he clearly hoped to channel emigrants to Iowa and Wisconsin, and encouraged and supported societies interested in the region. The British Emigrants' Mutual Aid Society, the Albion Phalanx of Associated Emigrants, and the British Temperance Emigration Society were singled out in Newhall's booklet as groups with 'thorough organization'; each planned to direct their emigration to Illinois, Iowa, or Wisconsin.¹²⁴

The unbelievably rapid tempo set by the American people in their march across the continent after 1815 made the United States both a magnet and a vacuum into which immigrants readily flowed. In addition, the 1830's in particular witnessed a wild and chaotic financial condition which helped to produce a frenzied orgy of speculation. Nor was the trading in land completely extinguished by the panic of the late thirties or the depression of the early forties. Trade and manipulation in land on a private scale and engrossment of territory on a national scale had made manifest destiny the new order of the day. American agents reasoned that if only a fraction of the thousands leaving foreign shores could be channelled to specific estates in America, quick fortunes were to be made in land speculation.

It was not until the 1850's that the confidence, optimism, and economic prosperity common to the United States came to most areas of British North America. That fact, plus the provincial ties with the mother country, led the colonies to engage less in private emigration promotion, and more actively to support a public programme. British North American governments believed that if a greater proportion of those quitting the homeland were directed to the western settlements, rapid economic growth and great political stability could be registered.

Before 1860 neither Canada nor the United States were great, yet most of their inhabitants had a competence, and land and optimism were unlimited. While, conversely, the facts were equally indisputable; Britain was wealthy, yet myriads of her citizens were not only poor, but also doubted the ability of their system to

improve their lot. Consequently, the rapid expansion and growing prosperity of North America's Anglo-Saxon peoples was with telling effect contrasted to the misery and restlessness current in Britain.

OPPOSITION TO AGRARIAN EMIGRATION

Not all Britons saw North American lands as a sure road to prosperity or independence. The Scottish traveller, James Logan, warned agriculturists not to risk life in the New World unless they were moderately wealthy, and James Johnston, Professor at Durham University, found the American soil only reasonably fertile, the crops poorly tended, and the farmers unsteady. Johnston's book, which went through numerous editions, declared that once agriculturists were dislodged from stable Britain they seldom stopped drifting in capricious America, but rather continued their search for quick and easy wealth.¹²⁵

Many English landholders were apprehensive over the extensive agricultural depopulation. Some, fearing the rapid transformation which seemed destined to sweep away their revered country society, rejoiced in all remarks unfavourable to emigration. With a reduction in the number of farmers bargaining for lands, rents were inclined to diminish and much marginal land go out of cultivation. And even the farmers were beginning to complain about the higher wages demanded by the agricultural workers. As early as 1831 the scarcity of labour argument had been used to defeat Lord Howick's Emigration Bill.

A decade later, west-country landowners, contending that there was no shortage of agriculture employment, stigmatized men out of work as idle vagabonds, and predicted that should the labouring force suffer further decreases, crops could not be harvested.¹²⁶ Complaints of labour shortages became commonplace as the surplus agricultural workers were siphoned off to British cities or North America. By 1840 some rural areas in the south and west of England were advertising for immigrants.¹²⁷ Reasoning was not always logical. Certain gentry bitterly opposed rural emigration, but justified their objection to it on the ground that it simply would not work. They explained that in the same districts where agricultural labour was abundant, the people were most adverse to leaving, and that the majority of the young men sent from agricultural parishes in the south of England had returned home within a few years.

As an alternative to emigration, it was sometimes suggested that marginal lands in the remote areas of the country be prepared for settlement. By so doing, the British people would be following the successful American principle of migrating to distant, yet advantageous, spots within their own country.¹²⁸ Lord Kinnaird, a leading exponent of the resettlement idea, maintained that by a judicious system of cultivation and improved drainage the agricultural production in Britain could be doubled; and the programme would encompass the assets of emigration without experiencing its defects.¹²⁹

As on most other economic issues of the day, the free-trade, Manchester school assumed a definite position. They did not support emigration; yet they vigorously opposed local agricultural settlements. They used Ricardo's theory of rent to show that the development of marginal lands would be financially unsound; since, with the repeal of the Corn Laws, grain could be imported more cheaply than it could be produced. Thus, the free-traders in opposing British agrarian expansion rather inadvertently supported agricultural emigration. Jumbled thinking was not unusual. For example, *The Morning Chronicle* advocated the expansion of home lands and discouraged emigration, yet argued for the unlimited importation of grain and sanctioned the repeal of the Corn Laws.¹³⁰ Groups endorsing rural emigration charged that farmers and gentry favoured the development of marginal lands because they feared the rise in wages that would accompany a decrease in the labour supply.¹³¹ No doubt there was truth in the accusation. During the middle fifties *The Times* carried almost constant references to the possibility of higher wages in Scotland where large numbers of agriculturalists were leaving.¹³² Landlords were quick to point out that in some areas departures had become so excessive that only through the introduction of machinery could crops be tended; and trying to make their case a national issue, they subsequently used the political argument that yeomen, who earlier had been the backbone of the British army, were vanishing only to reappear as available soldiers to the United States.¹³³

The prosperous farmers and gentry who contemplated foreign settlement were often approached with weird, if ingenious, suggestions. All genteel families considering removal to a colony were advised to take a labourer's cottage in a distant county, rent a small estate, set aside a plot of land for a garden, perhaps engage one or two servants, and so experience the material discomfort and intellec-

tual isolation endured by the emigrant. Living in that manner, presumably the better classes would determine that they were neither physically nor mentally equipped for life abroad. Gentlemen were further discouraged from leaving by repeated references to the tedious and dangerous voyage, dirty work to be performed, severe hardships for the ladies, and absence in the colonies and the United States of not only luxuries, but even of law and order.¹³⁴

The more vehement attacks on emigration invariably compared the corrupt political practices and feeble legal protection tolerated by Americans with the more stable and exacting British system of justice. King mob with its lynch law, squatters with their prerogatives over rightful landowners, and kangaroo courts with six-gun justice made the United States appear truly undesirable and completely bankrupt of either political, economic, legal, or moral character.

The Samuel Laings, father and son, presented perhaps the most intellectualized objection to agrarian departures.¹³⁵ Laing, the elder, alleged that the 'water-cure' method of ameliorating distress merely aggravated fundamental problems. First, it was impossible to cross the Atlantic early enough in the spring to grow a crop the same year; therefore, any farmer needing to emigrate could not afford to live for eighteen months in a foreign land before his first harvest. Laing queried how emigration could be the answer to the quandary over surplus population when the average population increase was 420,000 persons per year, and the total leaving Britain was, at the most, one-fourth that number. Also, he marvelled at farmers believing the stories about high prices in America when wheat and lumber imported from across the Atlantic undersold British products. Conceding that the land in the New World was cheap and fertile, he adduced that the purchaser had only land, not land plus religion, education, law, police, roads, and bridges as he had in England, and he further maintained that a high land tax for the next few decades would be necessary to create such advantages. Nevertheless, Laing did point to the superior achievements of the States over Canada; the latter, being a colony, was 'done for', while the United States was 'doing for herself'. Seventeenth-century Englishmen were capable of emigration, Laing believed, but by the nineteenth century they had become so interdependent and specialized in working a particular soil or in growing a certain crop that they could never compete with the 'jack-of-all-trades' Americans.¹³⁶ Throughout the dissertation, Laing was logically and technically

correct, yet he overlooked the obvious, simple, and blunt fact that few American agriculturists were really hungry, whereas among their British counterpart, hunger and even starvation were not unknown.

As the number of emigrants continued to increase through the early fifties, agriculturists and industrialists alike became alarmed. English gentry, who had fought to retain the Corn Laws, argued that the loss of protection for the farmer started the first great exodus, and that since 1846 a chain reaction had continued to give a greater and greater yearly impulse to the movement. British emigration, compared on a percentage of population basis, was far larger than that of any other European country. One pessimist showed that the annual number leaving Britain was twice as great as Napoleon's casualties when his army was before Moscow, and then somewhat speciously reasoned that if Napoleon were defeated, the loss would also prove fatal to Britain.¹³⁷ Even former emigration supporters became apprehensive over the ever-mounting human tide flooding British embarkation ports.

It is a medicine that may do a great deal of good, and which, at the same time, must be administered with as much caution as any drug which poisons by gradually debilitating. Our people are our life's blood, and yet we appear to be dangerously easy on the subject of loosing them. . . . What is the almost universal cry of the sons and daughters of England? Emigration. What is the advice that England gives to her distressed children? Emigrate. . . . That one word rings on the platforms of public assemblies, echoes through the walls of literary institutions, stares one in the face in colossal placards, thrusts itself into one's hand in the form of tailors' outfitting advertisements. It is the consolation of the idle, the refuge of the unhappy and the industrious, the watchword alike of the agitator and the philanthropist. . . . It is our scapegoat for everything that vice, folly, or public mismanagement has brought upon us—an Alsatian for rogues of our own creation—a Slough of Despond, into which England may cast a little too much.¹³⁸

SUMMATION

After the last agrarian rebellion in the early 1830's, rural Britain was not again aroused to revolution, but rather to expatriation. The centuries-old fixtures of everyday rural life, like the old Poor Law which had permitted self-respect and relative comfort among marginal labourers, the decayed manorial system which had allowed a plot of land for a garden and meadow in which to pasture a cow, and the subsistence wage which had given to the workers ten to fifteen shillings per week were all being swept away. Agricultural conditions steadily grew worse from 1837 to 1842, and after a brief

period of faltering improvement, the late forties and early fifties again saw depression settle on many country areas.

As could be expected in a politically independent society, British farmers voluntarily emigrated in the hope of bettering their economic and social position. To many it seemed that the fertile regions of North America were a poor man's Utopia and the only escape from the lengthy and recurring depressions. Many who were not ready to leave in the 'turbulent thirties' were dislodged by the 'hungry forties', and if they still clung to land, Queen, and country, the 'fitful fifties' served to convince them that only in North America, where the hogs were 'fattened on ripe peaches' and meat was 'eaten three times a day', where there were no tithes, few landlords, and very low taxes, could a poor farmer with willing hands provide for himself and create a future for his family. Faith and confidence in the attributes of emigration grew as encouraging letters from former friends and neighbours were eagerly studied. Lord Byron's belief that untrammelled nature was 'a benign and purifying power', elegantly expressed what many agriculturists came to feel about the virgin fields of the western world. Although unobtrusive at first, the numbers leaving mounted until not even the improved conditions of the fifties seemed sufficient to stop the stream once it had started flowing. To many farmers, emigration had become the panacea for all the personal and public ills of the day; the early nineteenth-century feeling of sin, fear, or mortification among emigrants was replaced by a sense of salvation, hope, and accomplishment.

Becoming aware of the rather extensive desire for emigration, and of the potential worth of those leaving, public emigration agents and private promoters from many regions of the western world quickly set to work to capitalize on the movement. Taking their cue from Apollo, who through his prophetess assured intending Greek colonists that their new life would prove fruitful, North American agents with equal solemnity and success assured prospective British emigrants that life in the New World would prove bountiful.

To the British gentry, offshoots of the nobility, and retired military and naval officers, settlement in the New World was an individual matter. They, like the farmers, were motivated by a desire to enhance their own or their families' station in life, or by their reluctance to accept a reduced economic or social position at home. Emigration assistance given to agricultural labourers sprang

from a mixture of philanthropic, patriotic, and selfish motives. It served the landlords' economic advantage to clear their estates, while most of them also felt a responsibility to aid in the resettlement of hereditary tenants. When this could be done by directing the migrants to a British territory, the patriotic motives could also be served. Fundamentally, however, public and private assistance, while relieving some persons of hardships and helping certain individuals, represented a belated type of Malthusianism. It was an effort to ameliorate conditions through an essentially negative philosophy; whereas the adoption of a positive programme would have tended to make emigration as a sheer escape from hunger unnecessary.

NOTES

¹ Around mid-nineteenth century, when transportation and communication had improved sufficiently to allow easy travel across the Atlantic, but had not as yet made it commonplace, unusual and surprising weight was given to travel reports. The years 1837 to 1860, when well over 235 works were published by Britons alone, were most fruitful in such accounts. See Max Berger, *The British Traveller in America, 1836-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 6. Travellers writing about topics of general concern to the British public demonstrated, by their comments on and the extent of space given to emigration, the interest with which the theme was viewed. Normally the writers revealed more of their own philosophy and native prejudice than that held by the Americans, but their words were accepted as something less than authority being quoted, paraphrased, and amplified in periodicals and newspapers, and many times influencing public opinion to a far greater extent than their real worth justified. Views on emigration varied from writer to writer, but their remarks, many times chance remarks, form one of the chief sources by which to estimate many facets of the emigration movement.

Several of the British traveller accounts were written by returned emigrants or persons who had travelled in America with a view to possible settlement there. Sarah Maury could be included in the latter category while Richard Beste, William Hancock, John Oldmixon, William Oliver, and Frances Wyse had all tried emigration. (See bibliography for titles of individual works.)

² *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, VII, No. 338 (July 21, 1838), 207. Circulation of the Journal reached 100,000 copies in the period.

³ *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal*, No. 1 (October 5, 1848), 1.

⁴ Charles MacKay, *Life and Liberty in America* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1859), II, 315 and 320.

⁵ Robert Torrens, *A Letter to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P. . . . on the Condition of England and on the Means of Removing the Causes of Distress*, Letter No. IX (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1843), p. 4.

⁶ Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁷ *The Times* (London), July 9, 1844, p. 8.

A letter in *The Times* on June 2, 1848, adequately expressed the opinion of the paper in the late forties. The writer observed that at one time the wealthy considered it their duty to keep the poor in periods of need and to provide work for them at fair wages whenever possible. But as that policy was no longer being followed and as 'Merry England' was experiencing probably the worst economic conditions in the world, emigration seemed to be the only relief for the honest poor of the rural areas.

⁸ Arthur Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-50* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931), pp. 150-51. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

⁹ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Eighth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1842, XIX, 142. Senate Document, Report from the Secretary of Treasury, Relative to Deportation of Paupers for Great Britain, 1836, 24th Congress, 2nd Session, Serial No. 297, No. 5. Emigration Letters from Sussex Emigrants. Barclay, op. cit.*

¹⁰ Thomas Ralph, *Emigration and Colonization* (London: John Mortimer, 1844), p. 6.

¹¹ *Census of Great Britain*, 1851, Part I, lxxxvii, and Part II, 1.

¹² *The Times* (London), December 15, 1848, p. 5. Francis Scott, M.P., was perhaps the chief promoter of the Colonization Society.

¹³ James Brown, *New Brunswick, as a Home for Emigrants* (Saint John, N.B.: Barnes & Co., 1860), pp. 11–12.

¹⁴ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Advocate* (London), No. 58 (November 28, 1842), 5.

¹⁵ *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal*, No. 17 (January 25, 1849), 134.

¹⁶ Rev. B. W. Chidlaw, 'Yr America', *Quarterly Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, VI (1911), 7.

¹⁷ *The Times* (London), August 14, 1841, p. 6.

¹⁸ The emigration of farmers increased during the 1840's, and by the early 1850's had become sufficiently extensive as to sober most thoughtful observers. From all parts of the country, but especially from northern England and Scotland, the comments were of monotonous similarity. In April 1852 the *Hull Advertiser* reported the tide of emigration to be 'unprecedentedly large'. The exodus from small and remote villages like Holderness, Driffield, Malton, Bridlington, as well as from towns south of the Humber, was unusually extensive. In May the *Fifeshire Journal* explained that the emigration from that area was greater than it had been for many years, and in September the *Glasgow Constitutional* echoed the same theme. It was not until 1856 that a substantial decline in farmer emigration was felt in the north. (*The Times* (London), April 21, 1852, p. 8; May 19, 1852, p. 6; and September 14, 1852, p. 7.)

¹⁹ F.O. 75/10, Consuls: Kennedy and McDougall, Foreign and Domestic, January–December 1844.

²⁰ N. Doran Maillard, *A History of the Republic of Texas* (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1842), p. 501.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 992.

²² *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger* (London), No. 3 (July 6, 1850) and No. 5 (September 14, 1850).

²³ William V. Pooley, *The Settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1908), p. 502. The estimate was perhaps too high, although Nauvoo with 30,000 inhabitants was the largest city in Illinois.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 504.

One interesting account, repeated numerous times, told of six brothers from a middle-class Scottish family who emigrated; two of whom died young while seeking their fortune in the far West, one settled in Illinois, one in Ohio, one in Lower Canada, and one in Upper Canada.

²⁵ From the time of Patrick Shirreff, a Scotsman from East Lothian, who visited Illinois in the mid-thirties, to that of Richard Cobden, who travelled in the same district in 1859, there were numerous favourable reports on the Jacksonville settlement.

²⁶ George Flower, 'History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois', *Chicago Historical Society Collection*, I (1882), 316.

²⁷ Jacob Van der Zee, *The British in Iowa* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1922), pp. 28–49.

²⁸ 'An English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin. The Letters of Edwin Bottomley', *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, XXV (1918).

²⁹ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Fifteenth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1854–55, XVII [1853], 66–69.

³⁰ 'Occupations of emigrants' charts showing the numbers in each vocation reveal little clarifying information as occupational terms were improperly understood and unsystematically applied, and Irish emigrant figures were also included in the final lists. For example, see *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Seventeenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, 1857, XVI, Sec. 2 [2247], 68–69.

³¹ Herbert Bebb, *Bebb Genealogy: The Descendants of William Bebb and Martha Hughes of Llanbrynmair, Wales* (Chicago: Published by Herbert Bebb, 1944), pp. 54–58.

³² Daniel J. Williams, *The Welsh of Columbus, Ohio* (Oshkosh, Wisconsin: Published by the author, 1913), pp. 15–25.

³³ H. E. Thomas, 'The Welsh in the United States', *The Cambrian*, X, No. 4 (1890), 99.

³⁴ 'Bebb Genealogy', *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III (New York: James T. White & Co., 1893).

³⁵ Daniel J. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Stephen Williams, 'The Saga of Paddy's Run', *Ohio Journal of Science*, XLI, No. 4 (July 1941), 324. David Williams, *Cymru ac America (Wales and America)* (Caerdydd Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1946), p. 67.

³⁸ Edwin Guillet, *The Great Migration* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1937), p. 30. The information was originally taken from *The Cobourg Star* of April 25, 1855.

³⁹ The proposals were made in 1791 when the violence of the French Revolution was beginning to frighten most Englishmen.

⁴⁰ 'Our Colonial Policy', *The Colonial and Asiatic Review*, I (1852), 94.

⁴¹ *The British Colonies. Shall We Have a Colonial Baronage? or Shall the Colonial Empire of Great Britain Be Resolved into Republics?* by a Member of Parliament (London: T. Hatchard, 1852), p. 1.

⁴² *The Colonial Gazette* (London), September 16, 1840, p. 617.

⁴³ *The Emigrant's Reverie and Dream, England and America* (London: Saunders & Atley, 1856).

⁴⁴ Charles Buller, *Responsible Government for Colonies* (London: James Ridgeway, 1840), pp. 48-49.

Buller was convinced that positive and forceful governmental action was necessary. He no longer held the respect for utilitarian ideas with which he had been enamoured in his youth. In 1844 he said: 'The Benthamites had very good hearts but wanted intellect'. E. M. Wrong, *Charles Buller and Responsible Government* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 6.

⁴⁵ Richard S. Bonnycastle, *Canada and the Canadians* (London: Henry Colburn, 1849), I, 12. James Logan, *Notes of a Journey through Canada, the United States of America, and the West Indies* (Edinburgh: Fraser & Co., 1838), p. 57. Patrick Matthew, *Emigration Fields. North America, the Cape, Australia, and New Zealand* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1839), p. 20.

⁴⁶ William H. G. Kingston, *A System of General Emigration and . . . the Disposal of Convicts in the Colonies* (London: T. Bosworth, 1848), pp. 15-16.

⁴⁷ John Robert Godley, *An Answer to the Question What Is to Be Done with the Unemployed Labourers of the United Kingdom?* (London: Stewart & Murray, 1847), I, 37-38.

⁴⁸ *The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer* (London: Charles Knight & Co., 1846), pp. 131 and 202.

⁴⁹ Susanna Moodie, *Roughing It in the Brush; or, Life in Canada* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), II, 291.

⁵⁰ John B. Robinson, *Canada, and the Canadian Bill* (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1840), p. 33.

⁵¹ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Report from Agent for Emigration in Canada*, 1838, XL (389), 13. Arthur Mills, *Systematic Colonization* (London: John Murray, 1847), p. 4. *The Standard* (London), July 12, 1848, p. 4. Paul Knaplund, 'Arthur Mills' Experiment in Colonization', *The Canadian Historical Review*, XXXIV, No. 2 (June 1953), 139-50.

⁵² Thomas Rolph, *A Brief Account Together with Observations Made during a Visit in the West Indies and . . . the United States of America . . .* (Hamilton, Canada (?): G. Heyworth Hackstaff, Printer, 1836).

⁵³ Thomas Rolph, 'On Systematic Emigration and Colonization', *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, II (May-August 1844), 342-43.

⁵⁴ Thomas Rolph, *Canada vs. Australia: their Relative Merits Considered in an Answer to a Pamphlet by Thornton Leigh Hunt, Esq. . .* (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1839). Thomas Rolph, *Comparative Advantages between the United States and Canada for British Settlers . .* (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1842).

⁵⁵ Thomas Rolph, 'On Systematic Emigration and Colonization', *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, II (May-August 1844), 420.

⁵⁶ MacLeod edited numerous Gaelic periodicals between the years 1829 and 1843. In 1841 Rolph encouraged Rob MacDougall to publish the handbook *Beann-Iuil an Fhàir-Innric do dh' America nu Thuath (Guide for the Emigrant to North America)*.

⁵⁷ Rolph, *Emigration and Colonization*.

⁵⁸ C.O. 384/61, Emigration: North America, 1840.

⁵⁹ 'Colonial Intelligence', *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, III (September-December 1840), 375; and IV (January-April 1841), 258-61.

⁶⁰ Thomas Rolph, 'On Systematic Emigration and Colonization', *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, II (May-August 1844), 420.

⁶¹ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Ship Barbados*, 1843, XXXIV (269), 3-13.

⁶² *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Advocate* (London), No. 35 (June 1842), 5.

⁶³ C.O. 384/69, Emigration: North America, 1842.

⁶⁴ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Ship Barbados*, XXXIV (269), 1843, 3-13.

⁶⁵ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LXXI (April 24, 1843), 873-78.

⁶⁶ C.O. 384/74, Emigration: North America, 1843.

⁶⁷ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LXXVII (February 13, 1845), 444-45.

⁶⁸ Not all the Scottish nobility furthered emigration. Earl Fife of Fifeshire, James Duff; the Baron of Panmure, William Maule, and his son who was in the House of Commons; and the Morpeths, a branch of the Howard family of Northumberland, were among the *élite* sometimes criticized for not following the lead of southern Englishmen like the Earl of Devon and his son, Lord Courtenay; Lord Petre; and others who had shown an active interest in the emigration subject.

⁶⁹ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*. See Annual Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners for respective years.

⁷⁰ *Census of Great Britain*, 1851 and 1861. See Section on Scotland.

⁷¹ John Murray Gibbon, *Scots in Canada* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1911), p. 133.

⁷² *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Twelfth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1852, XVIII [1499], 48.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Emigration to British North America, 1852, XXXIII [1474], 8-10.

⁷⁴ 4 & 5 Will. IV, c. 76, sec. lxii.

⁷⁵ In the years before 1834 it was not uncommon for the parishes of south-east England to assist families to emigrate. Occasionally, however, other districts also adopted the practice. In the spring of 1830, James Silcox, a Nonconformist minister returned from Canada to near Warmminster, Wiltshire, and initiated a campaign for parish assistance to emigrate destitute agriculturalists. Granted aid, some sixty-five persons returned with Silcox; several settled in Canada and others went on to the United States. In 1831 a second party received parish contributions and followed their friends to the New World.

⁷⁶ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, First Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1835, XXXV (500).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1836, XXIX (595), Part I.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Thirteenth Annual Report of the Poor Law Board, 1861, XXVIII, 287.

In 1836 the United States consul at Liverpool estimated that 90 per cent of the poor leaving that port were destined for the American Republic, and a Congressional committee concluded that 41,000 persons from England alone would be sent to the United States annually. *Senate Document*, Report from the Secretary of Treasury, Relative to Deportation of Paupers for Great Britain, 1836, 24th Congress, 2nd Session, Serial No. 297, No. 5. *House of Representatives Document*, Resolution Made by the Legislature of Massachusetts to Prevent the Introduction of Paupers, 1836, 24th Congress, 1st Session, Serial No. 291, No. 219.

⁷⁹ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Thirteenth Annual Report of the Poor Law Board, 1861, XXVIII, 287. This figure seems to be in error; forty-seven who had emigrated were not included therein.

⁸⁰ 14 & 15 Vict., c. 91.

⁸¹ Funds remitted through banks and mercantile houses were upwards of £460,000 for 1848, £540,000 for 1849, £957,000 for 1850, £990,000 for 1851, £1,404,000 for 1852, £1,439,000 for 1853, £1,730,000 for 1854, £873,000 for 1855, £951,000 for 1856, £593,165 for 1857, £472,610 for 1858, £575,378 for 1859, and £577,932 for 1860. British North America remitted only a very minor portion of the sums. See appropriate yearly reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.

⁸² C.O. 384/61, Emigration: North America, 1840. *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Fifth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1845, XXVII, 617, 36.

⁸³ *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada*, XV, No. 47, Appendix No. 8 (1857).

⁸⁴ *Canada: A Brief Outline of Her Geographical Position . . .* (Toronto: Published by Authority, 1857). *Canada: The Land of Hope . . .* (London: Algar & Street, 1857). *Ottawa, The Future Capital of Canada . . . Hints to Emigrants* (London: Algar & Street, 1858). John Miller Grant, *Canada: Its Advantages to Settlers* (London: Algar & Street, 1856).

⁸⁵ Alexander Morris, *Nova Britannia; or, British North America, Its Extent and Future* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1858). For a classic example see Caird's *Slander on Canada Answered and Refuted* (Toronto: Lovell & Gibson, 1859).

⁸⁶ 'Colonial Intelligence', *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, I (August-December 1842), 244.

⁸⁷ 'New Brunswick as an Emigrant Field', *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, IV (January-April 1845), 87-89. Abraham Gesner, *New Brunswick: with Notes for Emigrants* (London: Simmonds & Ward, 1847). R. G. A. Levinge, *Echoes from the Backwoods; or Sketches of Trans-Atlantic Life* (2 vols.: London: Henry Colburn, 1846).

⁸⁸ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Papers Relative to Emigration to the British Provinces in North America*, 1847, XXXIX [824], 15-16. *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, XI (May-August 1847), 126 and 512.

⁸⁹ M. H. Pearley, *A Hand-Book of Information for Emigrants to New Brunswick* (London: Edward Stanford, 1857). *The Emigrant Record and Colonial Journal*, No. 18 (March 14, 1857), 5, and No. 20 (April 11, 1857), 3.

⁹⁰ James Edgar, *New Brunswick as a Home for Emigrants . . .* (Saint John: Barnes & Co., 1860), pp. 3-4.

⁹¹ Abraham Gesner, *The Industrial Resources of Nova Scotia . . .* (Halifax: A. & W. MacKinlay, 1849). *The Crisis* (St. John, Newfoundland (?): Publishers unknown, 1855). P. S. Hamilton, *Nova Scotia Considered as a Field for Emigration* (London: John Weale, 1858).

⁹² The newspaper was also entitled *The Emigrant and Old Countryman*. Earlier it had been *The Old Countryman* while *The Emigrant* was a separate journal which was consolidated into *The Old Countryman* in the thirties. Other slight variations in the titles were also common.

⁹³ Thomas Rawlings, *Emigration: An Address to the Clergy of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, on the Condition of the Working Classes . . .* (Liverpool: Charles Willmer, 1846).

⁹⁴ The Guyandotte turnpike, the proposed Richmond and Ohio River Railroad which was to terminate at the mouth of the Guyandotte River, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the proposed extension of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad were all discussed.

⁹⁵ Rawlings, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁹⁶ *Liverpool Mercury* (Liverpool), July 6, 9, and 13, 1847.

⁹⁷ *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), February 17, 1849, p. 422.

⁹⁸ *Manchester Examiner and Times* (Manchester), November 24, p. 6, and December 1, 1849, Supplement, p. 1. *Liverpool Mercury* (Liverpool), June 10, 1851, p. 453.

⁹⁹ David Hoffman, *Views on the Formation of a British and American Land and Emigration Company* (London: John Miller, 1848).

¹⁰⁰ *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 36 (March 8, 1849), p. 179.

¹⁰¹ *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger* (London), No. 1 (May 25, 1850), 5.

¹⁰² Hoffman was also active in trying to interest capitalists in 8,000 acres of anthracite coal and iron lands in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. The coal veins were supposed to be fifteen feet thick. Such mineral wealth apparently was surpassed only by the Savage River district of western Maryland where the coal veins varied from four to twenty feet in thickness. Hoffman also offered these tracts for sale. In addition to the mines, the industrial potential of the Potomac and its tributaries were also advertised. He prophesied that soon towns, equalling Lowell in textile production, would spring up.

¹⁰³ *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger* (London), No. 9 (January 1851), 3-4; No. 11 (March 1851), 13; and No. 13 (May 1851), 3.

¹⁰⁴ *The Sun* (Baltimore), November 13, 1854, p. 2. Also see *The Tribune* (New York), November 13, 1854, p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ J. Gray Smith, *A Brief Historical, Statistical and Descriptive Review of East Tennessee, United States of America . . . with Remarks to Emigrants* (London: J. Leath, 1842).

¹⁰⁶ See *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal* for June and July 1849.

¹⁰⁷ Caroline MacGill, *History of Transportation in the United States before 1860* (Washington, D.C.: Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), p. 446.

¹⁰⁸ Richard Keily, *A Brief Descriptive and Statistical Sketch of Georgia, United States of America . . .* (London: Published by James Carroll, 1849).

¹⁰⁹ *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), November 18, 1848, p. 213, and February 24, 1849, p. 434.

¹¹⁰ Keily, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

¹¹¹ *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 60 (October 6, 1849), 827.

¹¹² *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger* (London), No. 9 (January 1851).

¹¹³ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

¹¹⁴ *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger* (London), No. 2 (June 1850), 4.

¹¹⁵ While its activity does not fall within the scope of this paper, it is perhaps pertinent to point out that the newly-created state of West Virginia almost immediately became an active immigration promoter. See J. R. Dodge, *West Virginia . . .* (Philadelphia: J. B.

Lippincott & Co., 1865), and J. H. D. Debar, *The West Virginia Hand Book and Immigrants' Guide* (Parkersburg: Gibbens Brothers, 1870).

¹¹⁶ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, 1845*, p. 461; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan, 1845*, pp. 234-35; and G. N. Fuller (editor), *Messages of the Governors of Michigan* (Lansing: The Michigan Historical Commission, 1926), II, 51, 176-79, and 236.

¹¹⁷ *Wisconsin Public Documents, 1853*. Report of State Commissioner (Herman Haertel) on Emigration. Document C.

¹¹⁸ *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 22 (December 16, 1848), 275.

¹¹⁹ Livia Appel and Theodore C. Blegen, 'Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota during the Territorial Period', *Minnesota History Bulletin*, V, No. 3 (August 1923), 169.

¹²⁰ Marcus L. Hansen, 'Official Encouragement of Immigration to Iowa', *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XIX (April 1921).

¹²¹ F.O. 5/662, America: Domestic—Various, September–October 1856.

¹²² John B. Newhall, *Sketches of Iowa, or the Emigrant's Guide* (New York: J. H. Colton, 1841).

¹²³ John B. Newhall, *The British Emigrants' Hand Book and Guide to the New States of America* . . . (London: T. Sutter, 1844), pp. v-vi.

¹²⁴ The British Emigrants' Mutual Aid Society was established in Halifax in September 1842 with branches, soon thereafter, opened in Manchester, London, and other major English cities. The programme of the society was formulated by a Mr. Pitkeithly, who, after a visit to the United States, decided that emigration was the most feasible road to happiness for many Englishmen. The society's purpose was to procure 20,480 acres of land in a western state, and divide the tract into lots of ten acres for family settlement. Contact was made with George Flower of Albion, Illinois, and with residents of Iowa and Wisconsin in an effort to ascertain land prices and values, and arrangements were made with the American consul in Liverpool to transfer the organization's land purchase fund to America. Succumbing during the prosperous years of the mid-forties, the project added to an unbroken pattern of emigration society failures.

The Albion Phalanx of Associated Emigrants, organized in London, represented a rather heterogeneous group of potential emigrants. The British Temperance Emigration Society was organized on December 26, 1842. Liverpool became the association's headquarters, though branches were established in Sheffield, London, Worcester, Leeds, and other Midland cities. Between the time of its founding and its collapse in 1848, perhaps as many as 600 persons were sent to the society's estates in Dane County, Wisconsin.

¹²⁵ Logan, *op. cit.* James F. W. Johnston, *Notes on North America, Agricultural, Economical, and Social* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1851), I and II.

¹²⁶ *The Times* (London), March 7, 1841, p. 6.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, December 5, 1840, p. 3.

¹²⁸ *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, XVII, No. 42 (February 28, 1852), 144.

¹²⁹ *The Morning Chronicle* (London), January 18, 1843.

¹³⁰ *The Morning Chronicle* was a Whig journal until acquired in 1848 by Lord Lincoln and Sidney Herbert, after which John Godley, a convert to Wakefieldian principles, used it to publicize his colonization doctrines. In 1849, as leader of a colonization project, Godley emigrated to New Zealand. Later returning to England, he became Under-Secretary in the War Office.

¹³¹ Francis Scott, *Speech of the Hon. Francis Scott, M.P., in November 1848, on Moving a Resolution for the Establishment of a Branch of the Colonization Society at Leeds* (London: Trevelyan William Saunders, 1848), p. 5.

The idea of developing marginal lands tied in rather closely with a Chartist idea for home colonization, and was another example of the extreme right and far left agreeing on the same policies for radically different reasons. The farm colony idea will be discussed in connection with the labour movements; however, the clarity and frequency with which the notion was brought forward led to its being adopted in lieu of emigration by some Poor Law guardians. See *The Bradford Observer* (Bradford), January 6, January 13, February 17, March 2, March 16, June 15, and June 29, 1848.

¹³² *The Times* (London), April 22, 1854, p. 8; September 8, 1854, p. 9; May 21, 1855, p. 8; August 27, 1855, p. 5; and October 9, 1855, p. 9.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, October 9, 1855, p. 9.

¹³⁴ 'A Word to Genteel Emigrants', *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, XVII, No. 426 (February 28, 1852), 143.

¹³⁵ The Laings, being from the Orkney Islands, were among those reduced to near poverty by the failure of the kelp trade. The elder Laing, a radical Tory, was a widely-travelled scholar, having translated the first Icelandic literature into English; however, his works were unsound on account of his uncontrolled emotions and excessive enthusiasm.

In 1844 Laing the younger, won a contest conducted by the proprietors of the Atlas newspaper on the causes of and remedies for the existing distress of the country. Chief adjudicator of the contest was Sir David Brewster, Vice-President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Other judges were university men of high standing. Over fifty British newspapers and periodicals carried stories on the contest, thus giving wide publicity to the ideas of young Laing. His prize essay was composed of twelve chapters of which one was completely and three partially given over to a discussion of emigration.

¹³⁶ Samuel Laing, *Observations on the Social and Political State of the European People in 1848 and 1849* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1850), pp. 52-69.

¹³⁷ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, LXXII (July 1853), 117. England's emigration was not as large as Ireland's. Ireland, however, was not considered a foreign country.

¹³⁸ *Sharpe's London Magazine*, XVI (1852), 352.

CHAPTER III

LABOUR: EMIGRATION A PALLIATIVE FOR PROBLEMS

By the close of the first phase of the Industrial Revolution, the many new mechanical developments useful to society were evident everywhere, but little thought had been given to the individual man: the forgotten nexus in the use and production of the new tools. Indeed, the worker was often viewed as a kind of necessary evil in an otherwise exemplary industrial world. The artisans and operatives also suffered from a limited understanding and a complete lack of control of the complex economic forces which had brought about their predicament. They, more than most groups, fell easy victims to cyclical depressions and underwent the fear and the reality of reoccurring unemployment.

While the rebellious spirit of the mechanics of the Peterloo era, and the peasants' revolt of the early 1830's had availed the workers little, they soon found that the more temperate efforts of the broad-based labour unions, Owenite labour exchanges, social co-operatives, and the Chartist Movement accomplished little more. Of course, few of the workers conceived of the state as an agency which should provide education, arbitrate labour disputes, clear slums, or control agricultural production. Rather British labourers talked of the past instead of planning for the future. After the labour union failures of the late twenties and early thirties, workers were inclined to regard the giant organizations as ineffective and often sought escape in trans-Atlantic settlement. Emigration, rather than strength through federation, was propounded as a logical and satisfactory expedient when apprentice training was severely restricted, business activity grew stagnant, and conditions in general became intolerable. It could provide employment for the jobless, opportunity for the ambitious, and hope for the dejected. Hundreds of skilled mechanics regularly left for the United States where the growing textile mills and new iron smelters, in addition to the pottery works and cutlery manufactures, offered an ever-widening outlet for British workers. Some political economists offered a pessimistic, albeit highly over-simplified, picture. They reasoned that American industry

first became a competitor of the British for customers, and then, as British markets were cut off and production was curtailed, America offered employment at good wages to the unemployed British tradesman and operative.

Industries utilizing a large labour force in good times naturally produced the greatest number of potential emigrants in periods of distress. By 1837 rapid growth in the cotton trade had made the textile business the largest single employer in Britain. Metal manufacturing was expanding rapidly and had become a large-scale enterprise which absorbed 100,000 workers or approximately one-sixth the number occupied in the textile mills. However, since metal production entailed many specialized and diverse operations, it met little competition, and in conjunction with the closely allied field of mining was perplexed less by the mid-century depressions than were the textile mills. Third in importance and employing about 23,000 persons were the potteries. They were scattered throughout England, Scotland, and Wales, but were concentrated mainly in northern Staffordshire.¹

The decade and a half following 1836 was an era of recession and depression. Except for two or three prosperous years in the mid-forties, most of the industrial cities from the south Midlands to southern Scotland counted their unemployed by the thousands. The 'shut down' in the cloth trade and the plight of textile workers was particularly critical: 'In all our large towns, Leeds, Manchester, Stockport, Liverpool, those destitute seeking employment are in tens of thousands'.² Even the iron business was severely affected in the fall of 1847, when one-half of the 256,309 men employed in the closely-related industry of railway construction were dismissed.³ Centres of the old domestic production were experiencing an even more hopeless depression. Power machinery had a disastrous effect upon artisans in all trades, but conditions were unusually hopeless for the handloom weavers. A few learned the new machine methods, and in the early part of the century the rapid expansion in the cotton trade absorbed many of the surplus textile workers. Others, however, could not, and a few would not, alter their traditional handicraft methods. Weavers throughout Great Britain, and especially those in and around Paisley and Glasgow, were thus reduced to an appalling state of destitution.⁴

Another factor producing dislocation and unemployment was the change to steam power in many factories. This led the old water-power sites gradually to be abandoned in favour of centralized

urban locations near the coal-fields. With the centralization, any minor work stoppage resulted in immediate unemployment for thousands of operatives, whereas under the old system a period of depressed trade could be partially counteracted by the part-time agricultural pursuits of most of the employees. Throughout the thirties and forties, the textile production of southern England was in a decaying state. Transfer of the woollen industry to the north brought oppressive conditions in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Somerset, while the lace trade and the silk-weavers of Spitalfields and Norwich experienced the same general problem.

Writers, lecturers, clergymen, and professional men from the upper and middle classes were brought to believe, often reluctantly, that emigration was the answer to the dilemma faced by the unemployed. Provincial newspapers devoted columns of print to the distress of local trades, and often unrealistically supported any design that seemed to promise relief. Many journals boldly suggested that philanthropic gifts, Church relief, and Poor Law assistance had become inadequate to meet the unprecedented demands created by the host of the unemployed; therefore, the one remaining hope, emigration, should be energetically embraced.⁵ Seeming to taunt the poor, *The Colonist* brazenly propagandized its chief objective, emigration:

You find trade bad; you are out of work; you scarcely make the two ends meet at the best of times; things do not look as if they would improve; they may grow worse; and you feel, do all you can, working early and late, that you and those you love best may sink from the station you hold and even starve at last.⁶

Dispensing with a lengthy discussion and presenting only the simple fundamentals, *The Emigrants' Penny Magazine* categorically stated that emigration helped the people and God willed it; therefore, it should be participated in freely.

William H. G. Kingston, evidently assuming that the unemployed poor were also romanticists, wrote several of his tracts in a juvenile story form and discussed the beautiful ships, strong ropes, and adventurous aspects of sea travel. Many pamphlets were composed in a simple vernacular and made use of colloquial dialogue apparently in an effort to influence the unlearned reader.⁷ Canada was pictured as the 'poor man's home' and as a place where the labourer's efforts would be rewarded. Pro-colonial thinkers were certain that all who supported the empire would readily grasp the absolute necessity for emigration. But they warned the worker that going to a foreign land was expatriation, not emigration, and meant

'cutting oneself off from the good and great olive tree, never to be grafted thereon again'.⁸ Other publicists, less receptive to empire building, supported the movement as the lesser of two evils; to them it was a grim necessity; either the moderate safety-valve of emigration must be opened or thousands of the hungry proletariat would seize upon a more radical expedient.

Colonial advocates notwithstanding, operatives and artisans were most often enjoined to go to the United States where industrial workers could be more readily assimilated. Many Britons, like Archibald Prentice, who travelled in America for his health, insisted that despite the large number of immigrants who were crowding into the country, workmen's wages were still 50 per cent higher and food prices one-third lower than in Britain.⁹ Magazines and newspapers favourable to the United States assisted in the wide dissemination of pro-American emigration literature, and more radical journals compared the social and religious character of the two countries in a manner most unflattering to Britain.¹⁰ A Manchester mercantile man revealed a fundamental issue when he admitted that in the United States misunderstandings between management and labour invariably resulted in a settlement favourable to the worker; otherwise he would turn to one of the many other available positions open to him. Even the Earl of Carlisle was impressed by the American prosperity and the salutary status enjoyed by the working men, and freely set forth his opinions in two lectures delivered before the Leeds Mechanics Institute.¹¹ Emigrant journals consistently reassured the labourers that a good workman could not fail to find employment because in all large ports shipbuilding was rapidly expanding. Emigrants were cautioned to go directly to the owner who 'will invariably treat the inquirer with respect, and will give him all the information in his power'.¹²

America is a country overflowing with prosperity and happiness—one which knows not the meaning of internal tumult—one in which all the citizens, with scarcely an exception, can command the necessities of life.¹³

Some accounts were amusingly overdrawn. One writer romantically portrayed an emigrant furniture-maker perfecting his craft in the forests of Ohio while on the side he conducted exciting forays against the bears and Indians.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the proverbial equation that one day's labour in America was equal to three days' keep for a worker and his family was unquestionably attractive to hard-pressed British operatives. Deliberately contrasted with the 'difficulties, discords, and anxieties' prevailing in Britain, such

accounts nurtured and inspired an emigration consciousness. The specific and practical nature of the opportunities discussed, combined with the personal and social equality implied, could not fail to attract the British workman of the hectic forties. Nor was the appeal for labour emigration instigated by any one group. Philanthropists, Members of Parliament, North American travellers, colonization journals, and occasionally even *laissez-faire* newspapers, were among the diverse elements who, sometimes altruistically and sometimes selfishly, proposed emigration as the solution to the predicament faced by artisans and mechanics.

PRIVATE EMIGRATION

Mid-nineteenth-century industrial emigration falls into five classifications. The personally-financed and self-directed migration of workers and their families perhaps accounted for the greatest number of departures. When employment became precarious at home, it was natural for economically free and politically independent people to attempt the betterment of their position by individual effort. They needed no one to depict their poverty for them or to appraise the merits of leaving a jobless country. Private savings, small gratuities, and the sale of meagre stocks of household furnishings enabled many to finance their emigration. Newspapers throughout the mid-century years gave countless notices of American-bound vessels departing with a party of skilled mechanics on board; Midland operatives leaving for a seaport; poor Scottish artisans or English railway-construction labourers being crowded into a ship's steerage; or little bands of rough-looking Cornish and Welsh miners waiting to embark along the Bristol Channel, Cardigan Bay, or the Mersey River.

Only limited and imperfect records are available from which to estimate either the number in particular trades or the total number of operatives, artisans, and unskilled mechanics who left. An additional problem in determining the occupation of emigrants was the mobility of British labour. For example, statistics taken at the depth of the 1839-43 industrial distress from Vauxhall Ward, one of the sixteen districts of Liverpool, pointed up the rural to urban migration taking place in Britain. Vauxhall was a manufacturing area on the northern side of Liverpool, extending down to the Mersey. Of the 4,977 families in the ward, 776 had come from outlying English counties, 366 from north Wales, 160 from Scotland, and 106 from the Isle of Man and foreign countries. The great majority of the

1,408 families not natives of Liverpool were from agricultural localities.¹⁵

Starting in 1840 and 1841, and this time taking the 'water cure' by fleeing across the Atlantic, many of the ward's migrant families and thousands like them in Britain's industrial cities were again uprooted. The severity of the distress was indicated by the autumn and winter emigration of 1841 and 1842. Since agriculturists, with rare exception, left only in the spring and early summer, such activities attest to the urban nature of the departures. The *Liverpool Albion* and passenger agents concurred in emphasizing that emigrants going through the Liverpool port in the early forties were principally from the manufacturing sections of Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Nottinghamshire.¹⁶

In 1841, when industrial emigration was probably at its height, the census was taken and parishes were asked to state the number who had emigrated in the six months period, January to June 1841. Of the two most highly industrial counties, Lancashire showed 1,362 persons leaving and the West Riding of Yorkshire, 944. This number was slightly less than one per thousand of the counties' total population; while in Cornwall, a part mining, part agricultural county, 795 or 2.3 persons per thousand had left, and in Sussex, a solely agriculture region, 758 or 2.5 persons per thousand had emigrated.¹⁷ The annual exodus of United Kingdom subjects increased from 0.5 per cent of the total population in 1832 to 1.3 per cent in 1852. Viewing Britain as a whole, perhaps in no single year did the industrial emigration surpass the agricultural, but apparently in periods of extreme depression, urban departures equalled or nearly equalled the rural exodus.

Beginning in the mid-fifties, emigrant occupational records were kept at British embarkation ports. But the accounts are of little worth; for example, over 31,000 of the some 45,000 adult males leaving the United Kingdom (including Ireland) for the United States in 1856 were listed as labourers or unclassified. However, over a thousand each of miners, mechanics, and carpenters, as well as 8,000 in some fifty other trades were specifically classified. The same trades were represented in the British North American statistics although, since only 5,753 adult males entered those colonies in 1856, the proportions were smaller.¹⁸

Especially in the earlier years, manufacturing in the colonies was virtually non-existent and the United States industries were still too rudimentary to absorb large influxes of skilled workmen. In

addition, during the forties America was experiencing depressed conditions almost equal to those in Britain; and a large emigration was particularly unfortunate because it increased the already large body of unemployed. Consequently, during the autumn and winter of 1842, the ever-flowing trickle of emigrants returning to Britain was swollen into a movement of considerable magnitude. Through changes in American naval regulations and the heightening tension between the two countries, many British sailors, who had previously served with the United States Navy, augmented the backward flow. In September two ships, one with 250 and the other with 300 persons returning from America, sailed into Liverpool only a few hours apart.¹⁹ Some provincial newspapers accented the starving condition and misery of the returning Britons who had 'escaped from republicanism'; the adverse publicity temporarily caused substantial reduction in industrial emigration.²⁰ After mid-century, American business was in a position to assimilate many more non-agricultural emigrants; nevertheless, the sharp panics of the fifties created periodic stoppages and occasional reverses in the industrial emigration flow.²¹ Following the recession of 1857, the official figures of the emigration commissioners show 18,841 emigrants returning from North America to the United Kingdom in 1858; while in 1860, 17,798 persons from the United States and 1,098 from British North America recrossed the Atlantic.²²

Of course, American industry had enjoyed a reasonably large influx of skilled British workers long before the business expansion of the 1850's. Starting in the mid-thirties, Sheffield cutlers, file-smiths, and razorsmiths began to settle in Waterbury and Bridgeport, Connecticut, and somewhat later in other New England and Mid-Atlantic states. Reduction in wages, unemployment, and recruitment by American manufacturers led to large numbers of cutlers crossing the Atlantic in the 1840's; and by the early fifties labour disputes in Connecticut had resulted in some Englishmen forming their own company at Waterbury. Neither British nor American unions were indifferent to the migration, but it was the journeymen filesmiths of Sheffield and New York that took the most positive action. Both unions agreed that the emigration was impolitic. It lowered the wages of American workers, and at the same time built a competitive industry which cut heavily into British markets.²³

The migration of English industrialists and their tendency to attract British tradesmen also provoked widespread criticism on

both sides of the ocean. Cutlery workers at New Haven became especially concerned when a Mr. Rowland, an Englishman who had earlier established their factory, returned to Sheffield for trained craftsmen who were to teach the cutlery trade to the inmates of Auburn State Prison. Through the co-operation of New York State officials, a similar plan to train Sing Sing prisoners as filesmiths also was being undertaken by Sheffield men. The unions in question spiritedly concurred with the American correspondent who suggested that such persons 'would feel at home among prisoners'.²⁴

For many decades a smattering of Welsh and Cornish tin workers made their way to America, and by mid-nineteenth century the copper industry at Baltimore was manned almost entirely by labourers from Swansea and Llanelly.²⁵ Starting in the thirties, miners from south-western Britain began to settle in the lead-producing regions of south-western Wisconsin, north-western Illinois, and south-eastern Missouri. Nova Scotia, Michigan, and California also drew Welsh and Cornish miners. During the 1820's and 1830's, Welsh schooners carrying a compact and heavy burden of slate had ample room for a second and lighter cargo of human beings. The quarrying industry of south-eastern Pennsylvania was thereby placed within easy access of many a northern Welsh family or ambitious Caernarvonshire lad. And while northern Wales was furnishing Pennsylvania with quarrymen, southern Wales was supplying the Quaker state with coal-miners. During the early thirties, American mine-owners appear to have initiated the idea which later became a fairly common practice of sending Welsh-American preachers back to their homeland as emigration agents.²⁶

David Thomas, 'the father of the American iron trade', left Glamorganshire for Pennsylvania in 1839. He had superintended the ironworks of Richard Parsons at Ynyscedwyn, and after arrival in the United States built the first of the furnaces for the Lehigh Crane Iron Company, and developed a new process for smelting iron ore with anthracite coal. In 1854 Thomas, with his sons, organized the Thomas Iron Company at Hokendauqua and built the largest anthracite blast furnaces in America. Thomas also became part owner of the Lehigh Fire-brick works and the first burgess of Catasuqua. It was not unusual for Welsh workers to follow their superintendent, and with Thomas' success being so widely known in his home country, Welshmen streamed into Pennsylvania in ever-increasing numbers. Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, and towns of the Lehigh valley became more familiar in Welsh homes than the

names of the seventeenth-century Welsh settlements in Pennsylvania like Haverford, Radnor, Merion, and Bryn Mawr. The emigration mania seized coal-miners in particular, and every Monday morning at Merthyr, Aberdare, and other Glamorgan towns the platforms were crowded with departing miners and their families. William Jones, the son of a Welsh Nonconformist minister, went to work for Thomas in 1849, and by the close of the Civil War he had made himself one of the leading mechanical geniuses of the mining world. Jones, Samuel Thomas, and other less famous Welsh-Americans provided employment for all the homefolk Wales could supply. By mid-nineteenth century, thousands of English and Scottish miners had with the Welsh abandoned British collieries to become the backbone and major ethnic element in the American coal-mining industry.²⁷

The American textile industry from its inception had leaned heavily upon the Old World for ideas, men, and machines. And the extreme hardships suffered by members of the British trade after Waterloo was an additional factor which helped to bring about the unusually large exodus. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, Richard Williams of Montgomeryshire produced a local history of weaving which in broad outline could be applied to several locations in Wales, to Somerset, and Gloucestershire in England, and to many districts in southern Scotland. An apocryphal tale relates that after Williams cut his foot with an axe, he determined to direct his activities towards a more sedentary occupation, and so set out to write a history of the local textile trade. The author explained that from the seventeenth century many citizens of the immediate community had been employed as weavers, fullers, dyers, and spinners; however, with factory competition, the trade had slowly succumbed, and about mid-nineteenth century John Bebb of Wern, Llanbryn-mair, 'the last . . . of a long line of "crimsey" weavers, sold up and emigrated to America'.²⁸

Before 1850 Scotsmen and Englishmen were numerous in practically every textile plant in New England. Carpet, calico, and many other specialized branches of the cloth trade were organized, directed, and operated by workers from north of the Tweed. From the early 1700's, 'choice Scotch servants' like tailors, weavers, and shoemakers had been arriving in America; therefore, it was Scottish tradesmen in particular who comprised the core of experienced personnel in many New England factories. Some of the emigrants kept their homeland abreast of American progress in the production

of textiles. James Montgomery arrived in New England in 1836, and after employment in several mills became superintendent of a plant at Saco, Maine. 'At the solicitation of friends', he wrote and published a booklet on the American cotton industry. The pamphlet was widely read in Scotland, and since it presented the American trade in most flattering terms, it doubtlessly set in motion the migration of textile workers. Even the uneducated William Thomason, an operative wool-spinner of Stonehaven, decided that his American experiences qualified him to write a book. It may be assumed that Thomason's lack of learning did not diminish his practical effectiveness when he emphasized that American employers were courteous and generous towards Scottish operatives and mechanics.²⁹

Tradesmen, operatives, and mechanics not uncommonly determined to forsake their trade, abandon their country, and become free and independent American agriculturists. Generally such persons initiated their own plans, mapped out their own itinerary, and personally secured the funds to commence life in the New World. On the other hand, emigrants occasionally grouped themselves into loose associations for the purpose of mutual assistance while travelling or for neighbourly co-operation after arrival in America. By 1850 there were scattered across the fertile lands of Wisconsin, and especially in Columbia, Dane, Jefferson, and Racine Counties, many Britons who had discarded their industrial skills to learn the art of American farming. The wide prairies of Illinois attracted similar groups; but the artisans to some extent concentrated near the Illinois River at Peoria, Canton, and Jacksonville, from which points they reassured homefolk that farm life was hard, but that the larder was always well filled.

As has been inferred, the individually financed and self-sustained emigration of tradesmen and factory mechanics was not large when contrasted with the withdrawals from the agricultural areas. Nor was it always successful. But neither factor detracts from its immense historical significance as a force motivating the thinking of thousands of British workers. In a sense the subject can be compared to the frontier thesis in American history. It was not so much the number of persons who went West as it was the idea, that some were going and that more might follow, that motivated thinking. And so it was with emigration. The issues were spawned not so much by the number of artisans and industrial workers who left or

by the success of their ventures as by the psychological effect their leaving had upon the thinking of those remaining behind.

AMERICAN-PROMOTED GROUP PROJECTS

Secondly, Britons were not only encouraged to emigrate, but in many instances were actually assisted to do so by American employers. In *Emigration, Emigrants, and Know-Nothings*, an Englishman who had migrated to the United States in 1841, explained that in 1846 'hundreds of operatives were imported from England for the purpose of obtaining practised hands and to keep wages from rising' in the cotton-spinning and manufacturing industry.³⁰ Throughout the same period, the labour journals of New England accused the management of dismissing native mill workers and hiring foreigners.

In 1845 'two hundred workmen from England arrived at the iron works at Danville, Pennsylvania', where they were employed,³¹ and when in the same year the iron-makers and machinists at Pittsburg resisted a reduction in wages, the importation of Britons 'was resorted to with considerable success'.³² Agents for American employers, therefore, were responsible for the introduction of a substantial number of Britons in the pre-1860 era. Industries as diverse as the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and New York clothing manufactures engaged in the emigrant business.

By mid-century, after years of depression, large numbers of Midland tradespeople were fain to exchange industrialism for agrarianism. During 1848 and 1849, reports from Birmingham indicated that many of the residents of Warwickshire and Derbyshire in particular were contemplating emigration. Eventually an attorney from Derby, a Mr. Kitley, set forth 'a practical plan to colonization' which seems to have been one of the sparks which ignited the fire of imagination for many Midland workers.³³ A few weeks after the 'practical plan' was issued the first positive step was taken. In March 1849 a body of gentlemen headed by Henry Frearson, engaged Dr. Edward Smith of Heanor, Derbyshire, and John Barrow, a civil engineer, to make an inspection tour of north-east Texas.³⁴ The emigration agents sailed from Liverpool on April 10, 1849. In New York they talked with numerous Texas land speculators; Richard B. Kimball of Wall Street appeared to be especially interested in their intentions, and gave them a letter to his Houston representative, Jacob De Cardova. But the Englishmen ignored Kimball's suggestion that they go to Galveston, arranged

their own itinerary, and arrived in Shreveport, Louisiana, on May 21, 1849.

From Shreveport, Smith and Barrow travelled overland west and north-west as far as Grayson County, Texas, then south to Dallas County, thence back to Shreveport. Having spent most of their travelling fund, they quickly recrossed the United States and sailed for England. While in Texas, they learned that the specific lands that had been offered to the Frearson group had been withdrawn from sale. Consequently, they made a general study of north-east Texas, and in October 1849, at Fall House, near Heanor, Derbyshire, Smith wrote his report for the society. Both he and Barrow had been most favourably impressed with the climate, soil, transportation facilities, and general future of Texas, and while they discussed the area in a reasonable and scientific manner, the overtone was always sympathetic. Smith suggested no specific tract of land as being particularly suitable for British settlers, but Barrow, although he apparently had not visited the district, stressed the advantages of Kimball's estates located on the Brazos River, and spoke of James Reily's property at Cow House Creek.

A correspondence conducted during the summer of 1849 between a resident of Birmingham, England, and Dr. Joseph Rowe of Austin, Texas, further pointed up the significance of the Smith-Barrow journey. Smith, being a graduate of Queen's College, Birmingham, was well known and had many friends in that city. In a letter dated July 24, the Birmingham correspondent revealed that he was a member of a party considering emigration to the upper Trinity, Brazos, or Colorado Rivers. He was of the opinion that the area could produce a St. Louis, Cincinnati, or Philadelphia, and while the new empire was being built, British emigrants would be free from a state Church and have room to rear their families. A second letter of August 20 disclosed that the society's inspectors had returned from Texas, and given an oral report of their findings. The agents' remarks had been so encouraging, and the statements concerning north-east Texas so complimentary that, according to the Birmingham writer, a few families hoped to depart by the following October.³⁵ No settlement, however, was attempted during the autumn of 1849, and before the actual migration took place in September 1850, a rather complicated series of events had transpired.

Only a few weeks before the Smith-Barrow visit to Texas, the James Reily tract at Cow House Creek was provisionally purchased by the Western Land and Emigration Agency of London. The

association, after undergoing at least two reorganizations within a year, became by early 1850 the United States Land Company. A quite separate and distinct body, known as the British and American Colonization Emigration and Land Company, was also formed in early 1850, but by late May had changed its title to the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company. On May 25, 1850, the first issue of *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger* was published by D. M. Aird of 170 Fleet Street. The journal was designed to advertise the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company of 8 St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, and was the brain child of David Hoffman, the salesman for American property located from Virginia to California. Hoffman and other emigration agents created the paper in an effort to acquaint the public with their American lands, and to stimulate and direct British emigration. However, within less than a week after the first number of the journal was issued, the body it represented merged with the United States Land Company, and thereby became the holder of large blocks of lands in the Milam district, central Texas, particularly the James Reily tract.³⁶

The newly consolidated company disclosed that facilities and promotional work could now be greatly expanded. It was emphasized that in addition to several superintendents, who had become specialists in certain emigration fields, the company now had agents in Texas, an agreement with the Black Star Line for carrying out emigrants, and representatives in major British, as well as continental, cities. During the summer of 1850 *The Messenger* began to shift its attention from emigration in general to a discussion of the advantages to be found in Texas. The character, experience, and activities of George Catlin, Superintendent of the Texas Department of the new company, were given marked attention.

Catlin, a native of Pennsylvania, lawyer, artist, and student of Indian culture, was a recognized authority on western American and Indian life. Between 1829 and 1838 he had painted some 600 portraits of distinguished Indians in their native costumes, and had reproduced on canvas many of the scenic wonders of North America. In 1840 he sailed for Europe, and over the following twelve years spent much time in the British Isles where he exhibited his paintings and gave lectures on the life to be found in the great American West.³⁷

Catlin was an artist; hence his writings, paintings, and lectures were tinged with the imaginary and lost none of the romantic. In

time his influence became quite pronounced, above all when he talked to a people overburdened by tithes, taxes, and landlords, or crowded into smoky slums and crushed behind inhuman machines. During the summer of 1850, Catlin lectured extensively in the English Midlands, and seemingly enlarged his objective, of graphically and verbally delineating Indian life, to include suggestions for emigrants. Obviously this was a dangerous policy, since his artistic and romantic qualities could lead to the creation of a land which did not exist. Nevertheless, he had been made Superintendent of the Texas Department of the newly-consolidated company, and had become something of an adviser for many of the same persons that had earlier employed Smith and Barrow. In addition, he had agreed to direct the affairs of an English party which was to be led to the estates of Colonel James Reily at Cow House Creek, some sixty-five miles north of Austin.³⁸

Only a few weeks before the group was ready to embark, Catlin, for some unexplained reason, resigned his position and severed all ties with the company. As a consequence, when the *John Garrow*, chartered by the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company, sailed from Liverpool on September 3, 1850, with 117 Texas-bound settlers on board, Lieut. Charles F. McKenzie, a Scottish Highlander by birth and more recently of the 41st Welsh Regiment, was in charge. Accounts of the sailing were most optimistic. The migrants were hailed by *The Messenger* as 'the pioneers in a great and glorious enterprise', while the comments of most non-partisan journals were equally favourable.³⁹ Soon after the departure of the first ship, plans were inaugurated for the migration of a second group, and on October 21, a small body of merchants, ironmongers, tailors, butchers, bakers, and other tradesmen sailed from Liverpool. They were from Gloucester, Ugford, Carlisle, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Lynn, Manchester, Birmingham, and smaller Midland cities, whereas the first party, also mainly tradespeople, were from the Midlands, Lincolnshire, and the London area.⁴⁰ By the first days of December, copies of the *Galveston Civilian* of October 22, telling of the arrival of the first ship, had found their way to England, and were being republished. Jacob De Cordova, the well-known land agent for New York speculators, had been employed to check the land titles, and lead the party to its estates, while Sir Edward Belcher, later an admiral in the British Navy, was the company's British agent charged with seeing that the party was satisfactorily situated in its new environment.

Upon arrival at Galveston, Belcher, who had preceded the emigrants, forthwith contacted De Cordova, but was vexed at the absence of Colonel Reily, who was to show the group to their lands. After some delay, Belcher and De Cordova decided to proceed to Cow House Creek, or New Britain as the unseen site had been christened by the emigrants. Considerable travelling difficulty was experienced before Belcher and De Cordova arrived at the prospective settlement where, with the aid of the county surveyor, the corner-markers of the estate were located. The results were most disappointing. The land was 'so much divided by hills of a stony character, that our scheme of founding a city, and all our other contemplated sections, [plans for several small settlements to be made close together] were so completely upset, that I preferred looking at other lands within our power'.⁴¹

In the meantime, the emigrants had become restless; the main body had moved inland as far as Cameron, while some had purchased lands on their own, and others had become disheartened with the whole affair, and drifted to New Orleans in search of employment. Belcher now sent word for the party to remain at Cameron while he, De Cordova, and a few of the emigrants who had joined them proceeded on to Waco. There they secured the services of the deputy-surveyor, and travelled on to the lands of Richard B. Kimball which lay along the Brazos some forty to fifty miles north of Waco. De Cordova, as Kimball's agent, sold Belcher a tract of some 27,000 acres located in present-day Bosque County. McKenzie, with the Rev. Richard B. Pidcocke of Staffordshire, then led the party to the long-awaited promised land. Each emigrant was allotted twenty acres, the same amount as was to have been received at Cow House Creek. It had been decided, however, that the new colony should function as a unit, and pooling their energies, the settlers quickly laid out a town which was eloquently styled the City of Kent.⁴²

The Britons' adjustment to the frontier environment does not fall within the province of this study, although it might be noted that the colony quickly proved a catastrophic failure. Its almost immediate trend of *de mal en pis* was accentuated by McKenzie's well-meaning, but naïve, military discipline, the insistence by some to maintain cultivated, but often leisurely, habits, the crop failures of 1851, and finally the Comanche Indian raids. Therefore, the City of Kent, within less than twelve months after its founding, was turned into a desolate outpost.

Through the early months of 1851, *The Messenger* continued to promote emigration. New agreements were made with American agents; John Tillson of 192 Broadway, the company's New York contact, was charged with procuring lands from speculators and transferring them to the London association. Richard Kimball, always ready to accommodate prospective land purchasers, assured the company that his Texas agents were negotiating for new estates which he in turn would relinquish for the purpose of English settlement.⁴³ But as the public became familiar with the disaster surrounding the first experiment, interest waned, and during the summer of 1851 *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger* and the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company slipped into the lengthening column of ill-fated attempts to remake large numbers of British tradesmen into American agriculturists.

Some three weeks before Edward Smith sailed from Liverpool to study north-east Texas for the Midland tradesmen, a party of Devonshire mechanics had departed for southern Texas. Before the Texas war for independence, an Irishman, James Power, had amassed through empresario grants large holdings in Coahuila-Texas extending from the Lavaca to the Nueces Rivers.⁴⁴ He managed to hold some of the land through the hectic decades that followed, and by May 1847 had made an agreement with Richard Rowed & Company of 15 East Cheap, London, and 32 Waterloo Road, Liverpool, to send him British emigrants. During late 1847 and throughout 1848, Rowed published circulars and printed multifarious handbills which emphasized the peculiar settlement advantages to be found in south Texas. Each item explained that Rowed was the only emigrant agent in Britain authorized to give fifty acres of land to every family going to Texas. Other facts were less extensively publicized. First, prospective emigrants bought Rowed's Texas handbook for 1s.; then those interested paid 10s. for the certificates entitling them to the grant of fifty acres; next, Rowed sold the travellers their outfit; and finally he collected a substantial sum for the emigrant's passage. Rowed only entered into negotiations with persons possessing £100 or more in cash. In fact, the critics deemed it 'better to be Colonel Power's agent than President of the United States'.⁴⁵

Apparently the Rowed agency, styled the British Mutual Emigration Society, equipped and sent out a few individuals during the last weeks of 1848, but it was not until March 1849 that an entire shipload of Englishmen set sail for Galveston. On March 14 the

Torquay and Tor Directory of Torquay, Devonshire, reported the expected departure of some 145 emigrants 'principally mechanics and labourers from this district' for Texas. The ship, an American vessel of 315 tons, had been chartered by a company at Newton Abbot, a small town some nine miles from Torquay; and almost certainly without clearance by government inspectors, the party sailed for Galveston March 15.⁴⁶ During the summer of 1849, reports filtering back to England indicated that all was not well with those who had gone out under the auspices of the Mutual Emigration Society. On June 1 a most unfavourable account of the entire expedition was detailed by one of the emigrants in a letter to his brother-in-law of Newton Abbot. The letter was published in the *Manchester Examiner and Times* of July 21, 1849. The report explained that Rowed had been forced to leave Texas because he had killed a man, the Texas agent who was to have conducted the party to their estates had not been seen and was known locally as a 'vagrant', and the seventeen persons who had paid £20 for passage plus forty acres of land had been charged £4 more before being allowed to leave the ship at Galveston and had received no land. The emigrants had arrived on May 6 and by June 1 all that had money had left for other parts of the United States.

When Rowed learned of the fate of the Devonshire party, he forthwith opened a campaign to shift responsibility. He argued that a bookseller named Makery (sometimes printed Makeig) of Crewkerne, Dorsetshire, a man of most unstable habits, had taken over leadership of the band, and he, Rowed, had divorced himself from the experiment. According to the London agent, Makery had failed to buy enough provisions for the voyage, attempted to cheat the English provisioners, squandered the emigrants' money, disobeyed instructions for travelling, got drunk in Galveston, insulted the Texas officials and landowners, and in general had done the migrants great damage.⁴⁷

British officials at Galveston had some months earlier informed the home government of the dangers inherent in the plan, and it was a letter from the British Consul at Galveston dated August 4, 1849, which gave what would appear the most adequate description of the fate of the group.

SIR,—The British emigrants referred to in your communication of July 3rd arrived from Torquay in an American vessel, under the auspices of an association, styled The British Mutual Emigration Association, of which a Mr. Richard

Rowed is manager. The emigrants, on their arrival at this port, discovered that they had been deceived, and had to rely on their own exertions for the obtainment of labour and assistance.⁴⁸

After the disappointments suffered by the Devonshire party became common knowledge in England, the Power-Rowed relationship discreetly abandoned further adventures into the field of British emigration.

Agents from both sides of the Atlantic attempted to direct British artisans and mechanics to particular industries or to specific estates in North America. Journals were founded, companies formed, and a general campaign launched to advertise the Western world's attractive prospects. But the basic motivation sprang from the contemporary need and desire of many of the British workers. The country was experiencing a rapid population growth and undergoing a deep-rooted social and economic readjustment; hence the pent-up masses were eager to cross international and continental boundaries if the future homeland promised the requisite opportunities for the making of an abundant life.

TRADE UNION EMIGRATION

A third division of industrial emigration was that sponsored by the trade unions. While labour organizations were by the forties no longer mere experiments, the unions had not come to accept 'the inevitability of progress' that later generations so triumphantly espoused. Rather they tended to look towards the past instead of planning for the future; they, like the agriculturalists, were often intellectually more a part of the eighteenth than the nineteenth century. They generally objected to the introduction of new machinery, the speeding up of production, and the unrestricted training of apprentices. After several years of depression during which their strikes had rarely succeeded and many of their organizations had disintegrated, the unionists seized upon the unique and somewhat perverted philosophy of strength through scarcity. The contemporary emigration propaganda, failure of strike tactics, and the prevailing supply and demand philosophy caused many trade unionists to adopt the wage-fund theory of their employers. The unionists, after admitting that only a definite sum was available for wages and that strikes were worse than futile, reasoned that only by depleting their ranks could they hope to prosper individually.

To carry the idea into fruition, trades discouraged and curtailed apprenticeship training, and organized committees to foster and

finance the departure of their members.⁴⁹ Not the most precise presentation of the wage-fund idea, but a graphic impression for the union mind was Cobden's dictum: 'Wages rise when two masters run after one workman; wages fall when two men run after one master'.⁵⁰ An allied theory also expounded was that if British workmen were to go to the United States in a sufficiently large number, wage levels of the two countries would equalize and bring not only a great boon to the emigrants, but a comparable improvement for the workmen who remained at home.⁵¹ The concept meant that unions should finance the departure of a few of their members if they wished to bring higher wages to England.

In keeping with the supply and demand philosophy, many compositor unions formed emigrant aid societies, and several of the local groups combined in 1853 to establish the National Typographical Emigration Society. Participation by individual members was voluntary. Most complete and detailed plans, outlining a weekly scale for contributors, time and method of selecting members eligible to leave, and a system for determining the destination of emigrants, were outlined. Over 300 union members were then unemployed, and the society anticipated that 400 or 500 members would be enabled to leave Britain within two years.⁵² However, the chimerical aspects of the scheme quickly became evident. Although a few compositors emigrated, the utter unwillingness of even idle workers to leave resulted in the rapid dissolution of the society.⁵³

One of the local organizations, the London Compositors, however, maintained its programme, and until late in 1856 continued to send out emigrants. The members who had been sent to Australia helped to keep the society active by forwarding remittances back to England to assist others to follow them.⁵⁴ With the recession of 1857, the society experienced financial hardships which led to internal dissension and the ultimate abolition of its emigration committee on June 10. In the four years preceding that date, the London Compositors had spent £800 on emigration benefits.⁵⁵ But as other trades were engaging in similar operations on the local, regional, or national levels, they were not exceptional in their promotional activities.⁵⁶

Another emigration function can be found in the trade union expenditure records where, not infrequently, several pounds were annually charged off as assistance for certain union members and their families. When a union organizer or strike leader, like the

men who led the engineers' strike of 1852, was placed on an employer's black list and chances of finding further employment within the trade were rendered unlikely, the union accommodated such persons by quietly paying for their emigration. These and other tradesmen who emigrated kept their union friends in Britain informed as to the prospects in the new communities. Their comments ran the full gamut of human sentiment; from laudatory approbation to scornful denunciation. Often those going to Australia were disappointed with the exiguous opportunities available, while most letters from America were more encouraging. John W. Sherwood, writing home to his union from Woodstock, Canada, was studiously acrid about life in the colonies. He apparently was oblivious to the fact that large numbers of highly skilled persons could be satisfactorily employed only in an industrial society.⁵⁷

One of the first trade emigration groups to attract unusually wide contemporary notice was that of the pottery industry. Of the more than 20,000 workmen engaged in British pottery production, the vast majority was located in the area designated as 'the potteries' in northern Staffordshire. The six or seven principal towns within the potteries had first attempted organization in the twenties, but with almost immediate failure. In the thirties Robert Owen had instigated a second experiment in unionization, which collapsed primarily because of improvidently conducted strikes. At Martinmas, 1843, the season when working agreements for the future year were made, a rumour that the employers planned to reduce wages resulted in the prompt formation of a remarkably well-organized third potters' union. Each branch of the trade founded a lodge in its community which in turn chose delegates to a central committee whose function it was to plan the overall operations of the union.⁵⁸ The new organization was in no sense radical; rather, its sober objective was to secure higher wages and better working conditions for the employees. *The Potters' Examiner and Workman's Advocate*, a small, cheap newspaper tending to have a moral and conservative tone, was also started.⁵⁹

Until the forties, with pottery processes surprisingly similar to those used in ancient Egypt, the industry had experienced little of the mechanical improvement inherent in the Industrial Revolution. One or two manufacturers introduced minor pieces of machinery in 1844 only to withdraw them quickly when the moral and physical wrath of the workers became pointedly manifest. The

spark, however, had ignited a psychological blaze in the minds of the operatives since they came to believe that within a matter of days their jobs, homes, and very lives would be snuffed out by a 'godless machine'.⁶⁰

William Evans, editor of the potters' newspaper, promptly came forward with the answer. Directing the paper towards emigration promotion, Evans wished to demonstrate that as machines replaced men, the surplus labourers must emigrate. He cited the failure of former unions to achieve any substantial gains through strikes as proof that only by depleting the ranks of the workers within the trade could conditions be actually improved. As Evans evolved his thesis, he became more and more an apostle and prisoner of his own ideas, and finally losing all sense of proportion, blindly assumed that emigration could right all the wrongs of English society.

Correspondence, emphasizing the wealth and plenty of potters who had emigrated to the United States, was published in *The Examiner*, and by May 1844 the Potter's Joint Stock Emigration Society had been formed and registered according to Act of Parliament.⁶¹ Letters, requesting information and possible credit terms on large land purchases in America, were sent forthwith to various local, state, and national officials, including President Tyler.⁶² The plan was to secure 12,000 acres of land, divide it into allotments of twenty acres each, construct buildings, bring a few acres under cultivation, and after shareholders had balloted, drawers of the lucky numbers would emigrate with all expenses paid. All were to contribute to the emigration of a few for the good of all. With the union paying over £70 weekly to unemployed members, the departure of surplus workers seemed both feasible and beneficial. Meetings were held and over 400 one-pound shares, payable in weekly instalments, were sold. Some of the individual lodges purchased shares in mass, other branches tried to collect extra dues for emigration, and many devoted part of their regular dues to the purpose. But the sheer novelty of the project, coupled with the conservative and traditional attitude of the people, produced much scepticism throughout the potteries, and had not further unemployment and talk of machine competition sustained the movement, it probably would have died in infancy.

Perhaps 2,000 persons, approximately half of whom completed their instalment payments, subscribed as stockholders in the emigration society. In late 1845 three officers of the organization were chosen to go with their families to America to buy land and make

preparations for future mass emigration. Dinners and farewell gatherings held for the departing members gave wide publicity to the enterprise. Almost the entire public press of the Midlands took some notice of the affair.⁶³ Running low on finances, the emigration society exploited the enthusiasm to add new stockholders, reinstate relapsed members, form branch organizations, and get related and subsidiary fund-collecting campaigns into operation. After considerable confusion, the agents in America were forwarded £600 with which they purchased land in what later became Columbia County, Wisconsin; soon after, a town site was chosen and christened Pottersville. During 1846 the central committee of the Potters' Trade Union was actually, though not officially, taken over by its own emigration society and came to exist only as a front for the later agency. As the union disintegrated, branch pottery trades, breaking away because of the union's growing supineness, paradoxically formed other emigration associations. The Mutual Assistance Society for the Removal of Surplus Labour fashioned by the hollow-ware pressers was almost identical with the project from which they had withdrawn.⁶⁴

In late 1846, with the number of unemployed increasing and the relief money having been expropriated by the emigration society, the potters' union again seemed to have dissolved. Evans, however, amassed sufficient funds to send eight families, forty persons in all, as the first contingent to the new estates being opened in Wisconsin. Leaving early in 1847, they awakened unparalleled publicity for Evans' emigration society. Bands of musicians accompanied them for miles on their way to the Mersey, while the canal from Staffordshire to Liverpool was lined with thousands of cheering spectators. Inspiration from the emigrants' departure, plus the actual introduction of machinery, gave the Evans' group a new lease on life. Other trades were galvanized into forming branch emigration organizations which, although arranging their own transportation, planned to purchase land from the potters. A multitude of financial investments, the proceeds from which were to be used for emigration purposes, never passed the talking stage, but tended to incite public confidence. Approximately twenty-five additional families were sent out by the potters, but during 1847-48 conditions in the industry steadily grew worse, and many were unable to sustain further emigration contributions. Reports of the dissatisfaction and chaos prevailing in Wisconsin cooled the ardour of others.⁶⁵

As a dying gesture, in 1849, Evans and two or three friends,

stumping the country, spoke in most major cities and threw the membership of the society open to all trades. Offices were opened in various towns; four different information addresses were listed in London alone. Abandoning cool reason and logic, they propounded emigration as the cure for all of Britain's industrial ills. By the autumn of 1850, the potters' journal, trade union, and emigration society had all ceased to exist; William Evans dropped from the British press and platform; and only a few score potters, digging in the dark loam of Wisconsin instead of working the light clay of Staffordshire, were left to remember the episode.⁶⁶

While the potters' emigration society was the most extensively advertised, it was not the only organization of its type. Journalists pointed out that at least fifty thoroughly worked out and widely publicized working men's emigration proposals were circulated during the thirties. But even this number was insignificant when compared with the manifold schemes of the forties. One of the more novel plans dealt with a truly critical situation. An emigration society was suggested as the easiest way to relocate 50,000 manufacturing workers of Lancashire, who in 1842 were ordered to return to their original homes in Somerset and adjoining counties. Since both districts were attempting to shun the extra relief burden, the plan outlined a system whereby the northern cities and southern parishes would supplement meagre charitable contributions and conduct a mass emigration of the workers. The overly ambitious projectors of the idea failed to consider either the counties' already large relief expenditures or the *laissez-faire* attitude of the employers asked to contribute to the enterprise.⁶⁷ County emigration societies to be financed by profit-seeking stockholders, yet designed to emigrate the local mechanics and artisans, were transient suggestions, but were followed by somewhat similar and more permanent urban organizations like the City Colonial Society and Central Emigration Office of London.⁶⁸ Also during the early forties, the national lottery idea came into vogue. After tickets were sold, drawers of lucky ballots were to receive ship passages and sometimes, in addition, small plots of colonial lands.⁶⁹

With the return of distress in the late forties, all the old emigration ideas, plus new ones, were presented.⁷⁰ During the fifties the number of new societies diminished rapidly; however, after Canada threw open homestead tracts in the Ottawa and adjacent districts, several English emigration companies matured plans to convey shareholders to the free Canadian territory.⁷¹ Perhaps no accurate

estimate can be made of the stimulus given to labour emigration by the numerous circulated projects. That a few workers were assisted is certain; that more lost their few invested shillings was inevitable. But more important, the bringing of the movement into a close personal focus engendered an emigration climate which made the hitherto unreal seem plausible. Expatriation now began to appear logical to thousands enmeshed in what seemed a hopeless 'slew of despond'. The umbilical cord that had tied many to country, society, and occupation was easily severed when land or employment, traditional British properties, was promised in America and was no longer available at home.

COMMUNAL EMIGRATION PROJECTS

Simultaneous with the trade union enterprises went the activities of a fourth group of emigration promoters, the Utopian communists. Fleeing from the industrial problems of Britain, they believed it possible to establish model societies in America. They, of course, not only capitalized on the economic distress of the workers, but emphasized the political inequalities of society as well. Suffrage, not having been extended to all classes in the 1832 reform, created a fair field for agitation and reputed injustices. Pamphleteers and columnists occasionally suggested that the republican appeal had always been attractive to the industrial worker. One writer insisted, somewhat paradoxically, that since happiness, prosperity, and contentment were snatched from the people at home, only in America could the truly independent Englishman be found.⁷² Until mid-century many of the novel and unorthodox ideas were circulated by Britain's more than 600 Mechanics' Institutes; it was not until after 1850 that the institutes passed into the hands of the middle class.

Colonial supporters like Richard Bonnycastle admitted that English and Scottish radicals, not liking Victoria's reign, had formed pro-American societies in Canada. Such immigrants were accused of creating political unrest in Canadian cities, and then in due course moving on to the United States.⁷³ Nevertheless, it was argued that emigration was the best outlet for bold and adventurous trouble-makers; to be sure their energy should be captured and retained by the colonies and not lost to a foreign power.⁷⁴

Limited numbers of British socialists, following the pattern of similar French and German groups, emigrated to the United States during the forties. Being loosely organized and generally managing

their own affairs, the parties inevitably broke up upon entry into America.⁷⁵ When economic or political pressure made it advisable for other radicals like the Chartists to seek a new home, they invariably found the institutions of the United States the most congenial. Most British Chartist leaders bitterly opposed emigration, but as men like George Harney, David Johnston, and Mathew Trumbull were forced to flee from the English authorities, they sought republican shores.⁷⁶ And when Westenholme and Chatterton, international Chartists and officers of the Working Men's Association, were forced to quit Sheffield in late 1839, they chose America. They were accompanied by twelve of the best cutlers, sawsmiths, grinders, filesmiths, and razorsmiths in Sheffield. The action greatly alarmed the local citizenry who was anxious to be done with the radicals, yet feared the competition that a flow of skilled labour to America would stimulate.⁷⁷

As Dr. Edward Smith and John Barrow, the land inspectors for the party of Midland tradespeople, were travelling to Texas in 1849, they came across a band of some forty mechanics from the London area, temporarily stranded at Shreveport, Louisiana. The London agency directing the enterprise had hoped to secure a small tract of land in Dallas County, Texas, and subsequently the emigrants' spokesman purchased the pre-emption rights of a Mr. Damson, and located the Englishmen on 640 acres near Porters Bluff on the upper Trinity River.⁷⁸ The London tradesmen and mechanics, accompanied by Dr. Peede, a physician, and a Mr. Richardson, acting as supervisor, were the first and perhaps the only emigrants sent out by the North Texas Colonization Company of London.

The historical background of the hapless London agency dated back to the empresario grant made by the Mexican state of Coahuila-Texas to the Englishman, Arthur Wavell, on March 9, 1826. Benjamin Milam, as the coadjutor to Wavell and resident manager of the Texas colony, had visited England during the summer of 1828. While in England, Milam promoted emigration and publicized Texas, and with such an object in mind, he, on August 30, contacted Robert Owen and outlined an arrangement whereby Owen would found a colony on the Wavell-Milam tract in Texas. Owen's correspondence with P. O. Skene of Brighton over the following few weeks clearly show that he was immediately intrigued by the idea, but instead of negotiating with Milam, set out for Mexico in an effort to procure an empresario contract for himself. He failed in the endeavour, but from the limited knowledge he

gained of the Southwest, he later with an air of authority gave flattering and optimistic reports on Texas.

In 1834 the radical democrat, Etienne Cabet, sought refuge in England, and quickly found a kindred spirit in Robert Owen. After absorbing much of the Owenite philosophy and reading Sir Thomas More, Cabet turned more and more to his future doctrine of Utopian communism. Years later, when Cabet was at last able to organize his own emigration society, he, in September 1847, crossed the Channel again to consult with his English friend. Owen and a Texas land-agent persuaded Cabet that the new, vast, and isolated state of Texas was the ideal location for a communal experiment.

British radicals also showed some response to the Cabet appeal. Monday night meetings were held at 13 Newman Street, off Oxford Street, and newspapers like *Spirit of the Age* and *Le Populaire* and the pamphlet *Communist of Icaria* were sold. News of the Cabet emigration to Texas, publicized in the pamphlet entitled *Address of the British Section of Icarian Communists to the Proletarians and Others of Great Britain and Ireland*, was first circulated in November 1848. But the more practical and materialistic British mind could not accept the idealism embodied in the French programme; therefore, the London editor and publisher of *Spirit of the Age* strove to project a more concrete plan.⁷⁹

The English 'reformers' formulated plans for a semi-communal organization in which by purchasing shares all members would be enabled to emigrate to Texas and ultimately form a co-operative society. But the new programme was scarcely launched when a cleavage occurred between several of the persons who had purchased script or shares and the association's directors. Towards the end of 1848 a meeting was held, and after a bitter wrangle the majority of the society broke away, and with the schoolmaster John Ellis as manager, reorganized into the North Texas Colonization Company with offices at 8 George Street, Euston Square. The original group was generally referred to as the North Texas Association.⁸⁰

In the meantime, on October 20, 1848, John Alexander, formerly of Mauchline, Ayrshire, and one of the wealthiest members of the original association, sailed for New Orleans. Cabet's party of continental communists were at the same time on their way to Texas, and a few of the Dutch, German, and English interested in the Utopian experiment were shipmates of Alexander on his voyage out from London. Alexander, as one of the London 'reformers', was

'particularly anxious' about the Cabet movement, but he refused to 'commit himself' to the scheme. Although Cabet and most of the Frenchmen failed to go on to Texas from New Orleans, Alexander did and lived with his family for several months in Houston before he returned to England disillusioned with Utopias and republics.⁸¹ By the spring of 1849, Alexander was advising his old friend, Bronterre O'Brien, to discourage further emigration to Texas. O'Brien, editor of *The Reformer* and one of London's leading Chartists, represented an influential force among England's more radical tradesmen and mechanics.

Before Alexander's warnings were publicized, however, the newly-formed North Texas Colonization Company had devised a system whereby an entrance payment of 10s. and weekly instalments of 1s. 6d. allowed workers to become members of the organization, and when £6 had been paid into the company, they were allowed to ballot to determine who would emigrate. If unsuccessful in the lottery, by the time £15 had been collected all were guaranteed emigration rights. For the total of £22, each member was to be conveyed to the estates, supplied with provisions for eight months, and given twenty-six acres of land. The last £7 in payments were to be made in Texas after emigration.⁸² Being sent out in the early spring of 1849, the first allottees were the group of poor English tradesmen encountered by Edward Smith at Shreveport. The limited success of the first party of emigrants, the discouraging letters and later return of Alexander to England, lack of unity among the local proponents of emigration, collapse of the English reform movement, and the untimely death of O'Brien's newspaper contributed to the extirpation of the project. But rather surprising, the working people, even with the numerous obstacles, retained considerable interest in emigration, and a second and larger group was scheduled to leave in the early autumn of 1849; but their departure ultimately was cancelled.

An emigration scheme meeting with little more success than the London experiment was devised by George Sheppard, editor of the *Eastern Counties Herald* at Leeds. Sheppard, a convert to Fourierism, had travelled over the Iowa and Wisconsin territories in 1843, and upon seeing the relative prosperity of English immigrants, many of whom had been members of British co-operative societies, conceived the idea of founding a communal settlement in the upper Mississippi Valley. In early 1849 a rumour was circulated in England that the Icarian communist expedition of Cabet was moving up the Missis-

issippi to Fort Madison, Iowa, rather than going on to Texas as the Cabettites had originally planned.⁸³ Sheppard was buoyant upon hearing the news, and although the story proved to be inaccurate, it served to renew his colonization zeal.⁸⁴

An emigration society formed at Hull in the autumn of 1849 engaged Sheppard to help select the site for a settlement, and quickly deciding upon the Hawkeye State, he, with a party of some sixty mechanics and artisans, on May 15, 1850, sailed from Liverpool.⁸⁵ Arriving in New York late in June and hurrying on to Davenport, Iowa, they optimistically purchased 2,000 acres of mixed timber and prairie land in nearby Clinton County, and divided it in proportion to the individual investment. The immigrants settled on their own estates, but co-operated in building the village of Welton. Finding frontier life far removed from their former occupations, most of the party soon became more interested in the opportunities offered in nearby towns than in the semi-communal Fourierism taught by their leader. Hence, by the autumn of 1851, they had forsaken their farms and scattered to towns and cities again to practise their trades.⁸⁶

In some respects the party of Midland emigrants led by Lieut. Charles F. McKenzie and Sir Edward Belcher to the Kimball estates on the Brazos River represented a type of communal experiment. As already indicated, members of the colony co-operated in building the City of Kent, and functioned as a unit in their farming enterprises. In fact, the basic plan of the community at least to a degree seems to have been patterned after a work by G. A. Ellis. Ellis' book, entitled *New Britain* and published in London in 1820, was one of the outstanding pieces of Utopian literature of the nineteenth century.

The story recalled how the writer, in the company of Mr. and Mrs. Herbertson and their daughter, travelled to New York, then into the interior of America where, on the plains of the Missouri River, they came upon the wonderful society of New Britain. Ellis' Utopian community had no cities; only local village communities; a number of which formed 'a division'. The Midland emigrants who were to settle at Cow House Creek planned no cities; only small village communities; a number of which were to form 'sections'. Even the title of Ellis' book and the name of his Utopia may have been copied by the Midland party which christened the unseen colony they planned to establish at Cow House Creek, New Britain.⁸⁷

The English Utopian ventures with their unrealistic planning,

laxness of organization, and unsound economic basis, perhaps even more lucidly than the projects of the trade unions, demonstrated the extent to which emigration had stirred a practical and down-to-earth people. This was not the mere investment of a few hundred pounds in a risky venture by those who could afford it, but rather the investment of a man's life and his entire resources including those of his family in an experiment that involved life itself.

OPPOSITION AND ALTERNATIVES TO LABOUR EMIGRATION

Radicals, Chartists, and advocates of home colonization generally followed a fifth precept in their views on emigration; that of active opposition. To most Chartist leaders and others suggesting political and economic reorganization within Britain, emigration allowed the decaying edifice of society to withstand the forces of progress and delayed the abolition of an unjust system. They maintained that their plan of action would not necessitate the departure of the lower classes, but produce a decent livelihood for all workers within their homeland. The Chartists only grudgingly admitted that emigration was ever justifiable. Denouncing it as transportation of the innocent, they flatly opposed it during the early forties when their organization was gaining in strength. As early as 1841 some persons expressed a fear that Chartist fanatics might watch embarkation ports and intercept and deter uneducated and suspicious folk from leaving.⁸⁸ By 1843, however, when the first Chartist programme seemingly had failed, the organization's leaders agreed that departures might be occasionally necessary. But they still contended that contemporary emigrants, like all socially-minded Britons since the days of Thomas Paine, were being forced by an unjust officialdom to leave England. 'Home or your native land is the dearest and sweetest spot.'⁸⁹ They reasoned that only a false political and social system could make it advantageous to cross the Atlantic for bread, and cursed the conduct of those who called into existence the cruel necessity of emigration. It could be a beneficial palliative for the individuals leaving only at the expense of exhausting the chances for healthful recovery within the community left behind.⁹⁰

When the Chartists staged their revival in the late forties, they again took the position that any other programme for social improvement would diffuse the efforts of reformers and thereby weaken their cause. They therefore became quite doctrinaire in their opposition to foreign settlement. Their reply to Francis Scott,

a Member of Parliament and a promoter of Australian emigration, was illustrative of the Chartist reasoning.

[If] the country is in the state you depict, it is not the exportation of a thousand or two that will help us; we must have an abolition of entails; a redistribution of land; [and] a cutting down of all salaries and pensions to one pound a week. . . .⁹¹

Taking up the Chartists' view on emigration, George Reynolds, in his radical sheet published in both Paris and London, applied the epithets heartless cruelty, base duplicity, miserable exile, a delusion, a mockery, a snare, a shame, a scandal, a crime, and other derogatories, to the movement.⁹² Twisting his logic and ignoring related integrants, Reynolds asked why northern Scotland and Ireland were not the richest areas in the world if emigration made for prosperity.⁹³ Aristocracy, Church, and government were accused of attributing all the evils of humanity to an over-abundant population.

The grand panacea for all these evils are, first to ship off to anywhere it may please God and the Emigration Committee, the surplusage of people; and, secondly, as a consequence to let them [the nobility] enjoy their own—to be left surrounded by prosperous comfort, orthodox and ultra-loyal, to eat of the fat of the land, sleep on plethoric beds, and die a happy death.⁹⁴

After Chartists' hopes were again crushed in the late forties, Bronterre O'Brien, publisher of *The Reformer*, half-heartedly conceded emigration to be the only salvation for depressed workmen and carried discussions of the more promising emigrant societies in his journal. However, with the return from Texas of his friend, the Cabetite, John Alexander, in the summer of 1849, O'Brien reverted to the earlier Chartist policy of belittling emigration. But *The Reformer* was discontinued a few weeks later, and Chartism died soon thereafter.⁹⁵

The most active Chartist leader, Feargus O'Connor, had substituted for emigration a programme of land reform and settlement within the United Kingdom. He utilized *The Northern Star* for promoting the National Land Company, and assailed emigration by publicizing the misery of steerage travel and pointing up the failure of most emigration schemes.⁹⁶ Representing another Chartist viewpoint, the Emigration and Home Colonization League agreed that emigration was necessary, but only as a business undertaking by which large profits could be accumulated to buy land in Britain. Thereby one-half of the unemployed could be settled at home, while the other half created the capital, for such settlement, abroad. Although the latter proposition was completely unrealistic, finan-

cially absurd, and hopelessly complicated, it received considerable support from *The Reformer* shortly before the paper was discontinued.

Local, small-scale husbandry, as a relief measure and possible substitute for emigration, was approved by numerous groups. Home colonizationists pointed to Belgium and the Netherlands where, apparently because of the execution of agricultural settlement plans, drastic emigration of the British magnitude had been unnecessary.

The first actual experiment in allotting land to industrial workers had started at Tewkesbury in 1772. Later, Nathaniel Kent, the Earl of Winchelsea, Arthur Young, and other well-known persons had advanced the 'three acres and a cow' idea as the most expedient method by which to assist the urban poor. In 1843 two Parliamentary reports discussed the history and contemporary application of granting small plots of land to the unemployed. Leeds had made 140 allotments of plots of land to weavers and mechanics; the system had become common in Lincolnshire; in Kent there were over 300 allotments; in Nottinghamshire, the Duke of Newcastle had between 1839 and 1843 set up nearly 2,000 miners, mechanics, and labourers with gardens; and in Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset gardens were being given to the workers. Two years later, section 31 of the 1845 General Enclosure Act made provision for small plots of land to be granted to the labouring poor when estates were enclosed.⁹⁷

As the garden idea became more popular towards mid-century, the emigration philosophy began to experience more and more competition from farm settlement programmes. Developments at Bradford point up the trend. With the city experiencing an unusual depression in the late forties, citizens suggested that arrangements be made with local landlords for more cultivation and small-scale spade farming by the unemployed.⁹⁸ Through the early months of 1848, Bradford relief committees used small sums for the emigration of the jobless; however, by June the idea of a farm colony had matured. Emigration was quickly repudiated and a deputation asking for financial assistance to develop marginal lands was sent to Westminster. The government failed to respond, but by the last of June the Manufacturers' Relief Committee had granted £500 with which a nearby moor was to be fenced, drained, and made ready for cultivation.⁹⁹

Home colonizing of working men had become something of a

fad by 1849, and was advanced in several of the economically afflicted areas. Even the London Trades Committee formulated an extensive programme whereby crown lands would be cultivated by the unemployed mechanics.¹⁰⁰ The back-to-the-land movement, whether encouraged by the landlords to give emphasis to farming and value to their lands, promoted by the manufacturers to hold the operatives in suspended animation until they were again needed, or accepted by the labourers as a desperate resort when faced with starvation, represented a very real alternative to emigration.

Certain groups of uninformed and oppressed labourers quite commonly refused emigration as the cure for their harassed condition. Many persons declined to exchange known misery among friends for an unknown fate with strangers. The government experienced much difficulty in its transportation of poverty-stricken emigrants to Australia in the thirties, and although there were scores of emigrant societies being formed in southern Scotland and emigration publicizers were legion, many starving Glasgow and Paisley handloom weavers refused to leave even during the forties. About mid-century the anti-emigration forces began to exploit a new and fruitful field; they circulated woeful letters from neighbours recently landed in America; and returned emigrants were seldom loath to tell prospective departees about their unhappy experiences while on foreign shores.¹⁰¹

The persistence with which some workers resisted emigration was demonstrated by the cries of 'give us employment here' when in November 1848 Francis Scott attempted to promote a colonization society at Leeds. Endeavouring to convince his audience of the merits of his plan, Scott explained that labourers were being used as 'dupes' and 'pawns' by the employers. He condemned manufacturers, Chartists, and landlords for opposing emigration 'because the trade they drive is diminished by any increase in human comfort'.¹⁰² As late as 1854, after eight years of extensive migration from Britain, *The Emigrant's Almanack* complained that, in spite of the prodigious numbers leaving and the obvious advantages derived from emigration, a natural dislike still existed toward it.¹⁰³ That it should be considered strange or perverted for one, even though poor, to dislike or to refuse to leave his home is surprising and is an indication of the depth to which the emigration philosophy had penetrated.

The most extreme radical leaders apparently opposed emigration not because of any basic objection, but probably because they

hypercritically reasoned that the greater the wretchedness at home the more effective would be their propaganda.¹⁰⁴ Of such character was a tract entitled *Royal Emigration Society Extraordinary*. When late in 1836 King William gave his approval to a plan to take out some emigrants to Australia, the project was made to appear a conspiracy of the aristocracy and Church to liquidate the working class. A cartoon on the pamphlet cover showed the people being clawed from the 'eye of truth', England, into the 'hell of emigration'. The aristocracy and Church had transmuted the 'terrene globe into a Hell, by chanting a superfluity'. Emigration merely provided 'Satan and his peers with incorporeity' since the poor were being transported so far away that British injustices could not be avenged. The author sardonically agreed that disposing of a few hundred poor was legitimate as it was the duty of the lower orders to depart so that the great and good could prosper.¹⁰⁵ Pointing up the rebellious spirit of a radical fringe and providing the malcontents with additional ammunition with which to incite the masses, such scurrilous tracts probably exerted a minor influence over emigration.

SUMMATION

Apparently the largest single group of tradesmen and industrial labourers to emigrate did so on a private basis. Most were neither toadies nor rebels, but rather independent and conservative artisans and mechanics who for a wide assortment of reasons believed that their or their children's opportunity for a better life would be enhanced in the new environment and expanding communities of North America. To many, a passage to America became synonymous with a ticket to prosperity. This type of emigration was commonplace and is readily understandable.

Many labour unions proposed a far more unique and encompassing philosophy. Union workmen, whether unemployed or precariously teetering on the brink of unemployment, had viewed with consternation and foreboding the introduction of labour-saving devices, the inflow of Irish workers, and the mass employment of women and children. Other perplexities like technological unemployment, competition for markets, and growth of population, while less readily understood, also contributed to the temporary superabundance of labourers. Experience had shown strikes to be imprudent. Thereafter, unions assumed that the wage-fund philosophy suggesting prosperity through scarcity should be applied to

human beings. The entire membership of the trade was to be benefited by the departure of a few of its members; all should contribute to the emigration fund. Workers not leaving were to receive higher wages and steady employment, advantages comparable to those bestowed upon the actual emigrants. This was the dead hand of Malthusianism, and it outweighed any really positive solution to the union's problems. Elimination of a segment of society was deemed necessary for the preservation of the remainder.

The Utopians represented an even more sweeping ideal. With the cheap land and remote civilization of America, they hoped to escape from the corrupted institutions, dingy cities, and confused society to the pure, clean, and simple life. Therefore, while individual emigration was not in itself a step backward, the basic philosophy behind the group emigration as proposed and conducted by labour unions and related communal organizations was actually a refusal to face constructively the issues and necessities of the times.

Co-operatives, home colonization plans, and the Rochdale enterprise were among the experiments advanced by the Chartists and other groups as alternatives to leaving. Adding to the chorus of emigration antagonists was the seemingly churlish attitude adopted by some of the extremely poor. Political malcontents viewed the activity only as a sop, the throwing of a bone to keep the proletariat from growling, and not the basic and fundamental reorganization of society that was necessary. While often unrealistic and immature, the Chartists and other radical groups must be given credit for at least propounding programmes which were to correct basic evils by readjusting institutions to men, rather than trying to emigrate the workers of Britain and adjust the remainder to outmoded institutions.

Fundamentally, the essentially negative philosophy of emigration could not and did not replace the need for a positive programme which would have led toward the upward movement and general elevation of the working people to the point where they could have enjoyed the moral and economic attainments traditional with the upper classes.

NOTES

¹ Arthur Redford, *The Economic History of England, 1760-1860* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931), p. 116.

² *Manchester Guardian* (Manchester), November 17, 1841. Portions of the item originally appeared in *The Spectator*.

³ *Newcastle Courant* (Newcastle), December 10, 1847. The item was originally printed in the *Sheffield Independent*.

⁴ Occasionally during the early forties parochial doles were increased by as many as 14,791 cases in a single week. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁵ Even *The Times* swung from an imperiously anti-emigration to a mildly pro-emigration position.

⁶ *The Colonist*, No. 1 (1848), 3. *The Colonist* was edited by William H. G. Kingston and published under the authority of the Society for the Promotion of Colonization, a group primarily interested in emigration to Australia.

⁷ William H. G. Kingston, *The Emigrant Voyagers' Manual* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1850). Kingston, *The British Colonies Described* (London: Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1851). Kingston, *How to Emigrate, or the British Colonists* (London: Grant & Griffith, 1850).

Being personally concerned in the South Pacific, Kingston generally failed to stress emigration to North America and actively opposed that to the United States.

⁸ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 11 (January 1, 1843), 4.

⁹ Prentice, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ James Robertson, *A Few Months in America* (London: Longman & Co., 1855), pp. 221-222.

¹¹ The Earl of Carlisle (George Howard), *Travels in America* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1851).

¹² *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal*, No. 1 (October 19, 1848), 23.

¹³ *America and England Contrasted*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁴ *The Young Emigrants* (London: George Routledge & Co., 1853).

¹⁵ John Finch, Jun. (compiler and editor), *Statistics of Vauxhall Ward, Liverpool* (Liverpool: Joshua Walmsley, 1842).

Karl Marx, in pointing up the miseries wrought by the capitalistic system, explained that farmers and agriculture labourers, after being evicted from the land, generally went to the cities where they worked for a while as labourers, but eventually emigrated. Marx, *Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production* (translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling; New York: The Humboldt Publishing Co., n.d.), I, 465-67.

¹⁶ *The Times* (London), May 25, 1843, p. 6.

¹⁷ Redford, *Labour Migration*, p. 107.

Although, during the early fifties, thirteen persons per thousand departed annually from the United Kingdom, the high point in strictly British emigration perhaps never exceeded five persons per thousand.

¹⁸ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Seventeenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners*, 1857, Sess. 2, XVI [2247], Appendix No. 6.

¹⁹ *The Times* (London), September 20, 1842, p. 4.

Later it was alleged that as early as 1836, 10,000 former emigrants had returned to the United Kingdom. The number would seem to have been exaggerated. 'Present System of British Emigration', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XXI (1851), 235.

²⁰ *The Times* (London), September 22, 1842, p. 7. The *Doncaster Chronicle* vividly depicted the story of starving weavers returning to the nearly village of Barnby.

²¹ John R. Commons and others, *History of Labour in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940), I, 616. See the *New York Tribune* for August 28, 1856, for a reference to English mechanics returning in 1854 and 1855.

²² *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Nineteenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners*, 1859, Sess. 2, XIV [2555], 5; and Twenty-first General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, 1861, XXII [2842], 16.

²³ See statements made by the Journeymen Filesmith Committee on February 16, 1844, at the George and Dragon, Westbar, Sheffield. Found in *The Potters' Examiner and Workman's Advocate*, I, No. 15 (March 9, 1844), 114.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 115.

²⁵ David Williams, *Cymru ac America (Wales and America)* (Caerdydd Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1946), p. 81.

²⁶ Rowland Tappan Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), pp. 48-49.

²⁷ David Williams, *op. cit.*

²⁸ Bebb, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

²⁹ *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, IX (December 19, 1840), 379; and XI (December 17, 1842), 282-83.

³⁰ *Emigration, Emigrants, and Know-Nothings* (Philadelphia: Published for the author, 1854), p. 32.

³¹ John R. Commons, *A Documentary History of America Industrial Society* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1910), VII, 88. Taken from *Voice of Industry*, Fitchburg, Massachusetts, for October 9, 1845.

³² *Emigration, Emigrants, and Know-Nothings*.

³³ *The Times* (London), December 15, 1848, p. 5. *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal*, No. 21 (February 22, 1849), 164.

³⁴ Edward Smith, *An Account of a Journey through North-Eastern Texas, Undertaken in 1849, for the Purpose of Emigration* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1849). Smith was a native of Derbyshire. He had attended Queen's College, Birmingham, received his M.D. degree from London in 1841, and in 1848 was awarded the L.L.B. degree from the same institution. Soon after his return from Texas, he became a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and later became a member of the Royal College of Physicians. He wrote extensively and at the time of his death in 1874 was recognized as one of England's leading authorities on dietetics. (See *D.N.B.*)

³⁵ *Texas State Gazette* (Austin), November 10, 1849. For a discussion of the fate of the British emigrants after their arrival in Texas, see Dorothy Renick, 'The City of Kent', *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (July 1925).

³⁶ A third Texas land and emigration association which may have been absorbed into the United States Land Company before the latter merged with the Universal Emigration and Colonization Company was the United States and Canadian Emigration Society. It was formed in 1848 with head offices at 2 Royal Exchange Building, and had agents in Dublin, Liverpool, and Glasgow. The latter agency, whose directors were mostly British, was engaged in trying to settle over 150,000 acres in what their prospectus loosely designated as eastern Texas.

³⁷ *D.A.B.*

³⁸ Colonel James Reily was for a time the Texas Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, and the representative of Texas in making numerous treaties and agreements with the United States. Later, he led a regiment of Texans in the Mexican War.

³⁹ *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger*, No. 5 (September 14, 1850), 2. Also see *The Standard* (Liverpool), September 10, 1850.

⁴⁰ *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger*, No. 7 (November 2, 1850), 1. A third party sailed March 1, 1851.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, No. 10 (February 1851), 4.

⁴² After making a few surveys, Sir Edward Belcher returned to England leaving McKenzie in charge. Rev. and Mrs. Pidcocke died of exposure, but not before their daughter was married to McKenzie.

⁴³ *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger*, No. 13 (May 1851), 3.

⁴⁴ Mary Virginia Henderson, 'Minor Empresario Contracts for the Colonization of Texas, 1825-1834', *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (July 1928). Hobart Huson and William H. Oberste have each produced studies on the historical development of Refugio County, Texas.

⁴⁵ *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal*, I, No. 6 (November 9, 1848), 42.

⁴⁶ *Torquay and Tor Directory* (Torquay), March 14, 1849. A. C. Ellis' *An Historical Survey of Torquay* also carried a notice of the ship's sailing.

The British Mutual Emigration Society should not be confused with the British Emigrants' Mutual Aid Society formed at Halifax in 1842, or with the British Mutual Emigration and Colonization Society founded in the latter forties to promote emigration to Australia.

⁴⁷ *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 53 (July 21, 1849), 731.

⁴⁸ 'Emigration to Texas', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XVII (July-December 1849), 439.

⁴⁹ *The Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 189 (July 6, 1842), 417. As early as 1842 employers

complained that unions, not being able to find employment for their members, hoped to maintain their bargaining strength through 'secret and mischievous' emigration.

⁵⁰ Arnold Toynbee, *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century in England* (New York: The Hunboldt Publishing Co., 1890), p. 168.

⁵¹ The theory was presented in a pamphlet by James Marcara entitled *Address to the Working Classes, on the Advancement of Their Conditions and Circumstances* (Edinburgh: R. Tofts, publishers, 1846). Found in C.O. 384/88.

⁵² When the union was originally formed in January 1845 it had 4,320 members.

⁵³ Webb Collection, E. Manuscripts. Compositors: Miscellaneous Historical, Sect. A, XXX, 29 ff. The manuscripts contain two especially helpful printed reports: one by J. W. Crompton entitled *Report on Printers' Strikes and Trade Unions Since January 1, 1845*, prepared for the National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences, and a *Prize Essay* written by Abraham Warnhouse, a compositor, and printed by J. & W. Jackson, Manchester, 1861.

⁵⁴ *The Typographical Circular*, New Series, No. 32 (November 1, 1856), 281. *The Typographical Circular* was published by and interpreted the emigration work of the London compositors. *The Typographical Societies' Monthly Circular* reported on provincial emigration and *The Scottish Typographical Circular* discussed the union's emigration promotion north of the Tweed.

⁵⁵ See issues of *The Typographical Circular* for the years involved. Especially No. 35 (January 15, 1857), 298, and No. 40 (June 19, 1857), 338. Also see Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

⁵⁶ The Society of Brush Makers; the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights, Smiths, Pattern Makers, etc.; The Journeymen's Steam Engine Makers and Millwrights' Friendly Society; The Manchester Mechanics and Engineers' Friendly Society; The Flint Glass Makers; The Friendly Society of the Operative Stonemasons of England and Wales; The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners of London and Westminster, as well as several other trade unions, fostered emigration programmes.

One-third of the printing-house employees of New York City in 1845 were natives of the United Kingdom or Canada, while a large percentage of those engaged in metallurgical trades were British. In the forties James S. Buckingham, while travelling, met in Greenville, North Carolina, several English tradesmen who had settled there. Even the baker for King William IV had come to America and professed himself to be happier and wealthier baking for commoners than kings.

⁵⁷ *The Bookbinders' Trade Circular*, II, No. 19 (February 1858), 145-49.

⁵⁸ Harold Owen, *The Staffordshire Potter* (London: Grant Richards, 1901), pp. 1-49.

⁵⁹ The first issue of *The Potter's Examiner and Workman's Advocate*, later entitled *The Potter's Examiner and Emigrant's Advocate*, was published on December 2, 1843, and while most of the journal's later numbers are no longer available, its first issues clearly detail the early history of the union. Many references to the potter's emigration activities are also scattered throughout the trade union section of the Webb Manuscripts. Collection E, Section C, Vol. 86, contains an especially interesting broadside in full colour measuring 11½ inches by 18½ inches and advertising a London potters' emigration meeting. Well over a score of additional notes from contemporary newspapers and magazines help to piece together the story of the emigration society as well as to indicate the wide interest and publicity it stimulated.

⁶⁰ See issues of *The Potter's Examiner* through the spring and summer of 1844.

⁶¹ *The Potter's Examiner and Workman's Advocate*, I, No. 26 (May 25, 1844), 201-03.

⁶² *Ibid.*, II, No. 16 (September 14, 1844), 123; II, No. 18 (September 28, 1844), 138-39; II, No. 19 (October 5, 1844), 147.

⁶³ The *Staffordshire Mercury*, *Sheffield Times*, *Liverpool Mercury*, *Leeds Eastern Counties Herald*, and *Nottingham Review* gave considerable attention to the potters' experiment.

⁶⁴ Owen, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-88.

⁶⁵ Accounts differed widely as to the number emigrating from 1847 to 1849; some placed the figure as high as 200 families. A more reliable source indicated that at the beginning of 1849 Pottersville and community boasted 134 immigrants. Few emigrated after that date. 'The Potters' Emigration Society', *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, XII, No. 302 (October 13, 1849), 140. *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal*, No. 18 (February 1, 1849), 139.

⁶⁶ On June 8, 1850, meeting at Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin, members of the Potters' Emigration Society filed a memorial bitterly denouncing the management of the society. They explained that virtually none of the promised benefits had been forthcoming in America, and warned that others should not be so foolish as to follow them to the society's lands. Only a few, however, chose to return to England. *The Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser* (Leeds), August 17, 1850, p. 3.

⁸⁷ *The Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 189 (July 6, 1842), 417.

⁸⁸ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 12 (January 8, 1842), 6; and No. 19 (February 26, 1842), 4.

⁸⁹ *The Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 192 (July 27, 1842), 466. 'Emigration by Lot and Lottery', *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial Maritime Journal* (1842), 268-72 and 402-04.

The effects of emigration were beginning to be felt over a wide area. *The Halifax Guardian* pointed to the village of Horbury (near Wakefield), where over a hundred houses were vacant, and emphasized that the departures for America were continuing unabated. *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Advocate* (London), No. 28 (April 30, 1842), 4.

⁷⁰ Among the widely publicized working men's emigration societies not under the aegis of trade unions or associated with the government were the British Empire Permanent Emigration and Colonization Society, The London and New York Transit Society, The National Philanthropic Self-Supporting Emigration Association, and The Halifax Emigration Society and Saving Fund. The British Mutual Emigration and Colonization Society, The Westminster Emigration Club, and The National Emigration Society were other organizations primarily interested in Australian emigration. Projects like the Family Colonization Loan or Self-Employing Emigration Society and numerous joint stock emigration companies and local emigration clubs were severally publicized, but were never organized.

⁷¹ *Ottawa, the Future Capital of Canada . . . Hints to Emigrants* (London: Algar & Street, 1858). See inside of front cover.

As the business recession of late 1856 and 1857 began to be felt in London, numerous working men's emigration groups were formed. In late January 1857 a Mr. Pierce and Mr. Macheth began to draw large crowds at their radical meetings held at Smithfield. Apparently, in an effort to divert the energies of artisans into safer channels, a few London gentlemen suggested emigration instead of political change as an effective remedy for distress. Encouraged by the Lord Mayor, a party of cabinet-makers, skin-dressers, masons, painters, carpenters, and other tradesmen formed a British Working-man's Society with offices at 42 Clerkenwell Green. During February, a similar group was formed at the St. Jude's School in Whitechapel. By March another organization had sprung up at Bethnal Green.

The societies hoped to obtain money from the government, philanthropists, or others to assist in the departure of their members. While most of the associations survived until the renewed prosperity of 1858, no organized emigration was actually attempted. *The Times* (London), January 27, 1857, p. 7; January 28, 1857, p. 10; January 29, 1857, p. 9; January 30, 1857, p. 5; February 2, 1857, p. 10; March 3, 1857, p. 12; March 31, 1858, p. 11.

⁷² *The Reformer* (London), No. 2 (May 5, 1849), 11-12.

⁷³ Bonnycastle, *Canada and the Canadians*, I, 14-15.

⁷⁴ Cobbettites found it irritating and galling that industrious and active mechanics, because they demanded recognition, were encouraged to emigrate, while the docile, tractable, and worthless, because they created no problem, were assumed to be valuable citizens.

⁷⁵ *The Times* (London), June 19, 1843, p. 7.

⁷⁶ Berthoff, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁷⁷ *The Times* (London), October 4, 1839, p. 5.

Other Chartists who instigated riots were being forcibly emigrated to Australia. *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Despatches Relative to Emigration to Australia, 1851, XL (347), Part I.*

⁷⁸ Edward Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁷⁹ 'The British Section of Icarian Communists', *Bulletin of the International Institute for Social History*, No. 2 (1937), pp. 84-88.

⁸⁰ *The Reformer* (London), No. 6 (June 2, 1849), 46-67.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, No. 5 (May 26, 1849), 34-35.

⁸² *Ibid.*, No. 6 (June 2, 1849), 46-47.

⁸³ *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal*, No. 33 (May 17, 1849), 259; and No. 36 (June 7, 1849), 281.

⁸⁴ In January 1849 while in London, Cabet contracted with a Texas land-agent for 1,000,000 acres of land, and less than a month later, on February 3, the first Icarians sailed from Le Havre. Arriving in New Orleans, they found their holdings to be only 100,000 acres and situated miles from the Red River where they had planned to settle. Nevertheless, they pushed on to Texas. Later, in 1848, a second party of nineteen emigrants arrived at New Orleans; however, by the time Cabet and 450 more communists reached America, in January of 1849, the Texas settlers had returned to the port city. Many withdrew from the experiment, but during the spring of 1849, Cabet and some 280 loyal followers moved up the Mississippi River, and eventually located on the old Mormon estates at Nauvoo, Illinois.

In 1856, 180 members of the colony went to St. Louis, and by 1864 the Nauvoo community had completely dissolved. Many of the Icarians travelled west to Corning, Iowa, but this party in turn split into two factions, both holding lands near Corning. Later, one of the Corning factions again split with many of its members settling near San Francisco, California. Most of the Cabette communities succumbed during the eighties; however, one of the Corning groups did not dissolve until 1898.

⁸⁵ *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger* (London), No. 1 (May 25, 1850), 4; and No. 5 (September 14, 1850), 6.

⁸⁶ Van der Zee, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Basic information on the community was originally taken from Wolfe's *History of Clinton County, Iowa* (1879).

⁸⁷ *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger* (London), No. 10 (February 1851), 4. G. A. Ellis, *New Britain* (London: Simpkin & Marshall, 1820). Partially reproduced in Glenn Negley and J. Max Patrick, *The Quest for Utopia* (New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1952).

⁸⁸ *The Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 149 (September 29, 1841), 609.

⁸⁹ *The English Chartist Circular*, II, No. 151 (1843), 395.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Charles Cole caught the Chartist philosophy in the first verse of his rhyme:

Sorrow laden,
Youth and Maiden
To Canadian
Wilds may go;
Eerie thund'rings,
Wake their wond'ring:
Will their absence heal our woe?

⁹¹ *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal*, No. 22 (March 1, 1849), 171.

⁹² *Reynold's Political Instructor* (London), I, No. 9 (January 5, 1850), 66.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, No. 10 (January 12, 1849), 75.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 13 (February 2, 1850), 102-03.

⁹⁵ *The Reformer* (London), No. 14 (July 28, 1849) and No. 15 (August 4, 1849).

⁹⁶ *The Northern Star* attained a circulation of 45,000 copies in this period. Perhaps each copy was read by an average of ten persons. M. Beer, *A History of British Socialism* (London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1920), II, 13.

⁹⁷ W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of Our Land* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1920), pp. 265-77.

⁹⁸ *Bradford Observer* (Bradford), January 28, 1847.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, June 8, 1848; June 15, 1848; and June 29, 1848.

¹⁰⁰ *The Times* (London), March 8, 1849.

¹⁰¹ William H. G. Kingston, *A Lecture on Colonization, Delivered at a Public Meeting at Halstead, Essex, January 12, 1849* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1849), p. 4.

¹⁰² Scott, *Speech of the Hon. Francis Scott*, p. 5.

¹⁰³ *The Emigrant's Almanack* (London: John Cassell, 1854), p. 17.

¹⁰⁴ In the inaugural address delivered at the first meeting of the International Working Men's Association held on September 28, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London, Karl Marx argued that no application of science to industry, no free trade, no improvement in transport, no emigration, nor all of them combined, could relieve the misery of the productive class. Beer, *op. cit.*, 213-15.

¹⁰⁵ *Royal Emigration Society Extraordinary* (London: J. Sharp, ca. 1836).

CHAPTER IV

HUMANITARIANS AND RELIGIONS: EXCURSIONS INTO EMIGRATION

As early as the seventeenth century, humanitarians, in connection with the Church of England, began to formulate programmes designed to stimulate the religious instincts and to promote the cultural welfare of English colonists. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, formed in 1699, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, organized in 1701, were founded under Episcopal patronage, but were not strictly of a denominational stamp. Both organizations attempted to work closely with colonizers, and soon became associated with philanthropists like General Oglethorpe of Georgia fame. The founder of the societies, Dr. Thomas Bray, had at one time been superintendent of the Anglican Church in Maryland; and after visiting the Whitechapel Prison and London workhouses in the 1730's, conceived the idea of transporting the young victims of poverty to America. Hoping to find an outlet for the children, Bray enlisted the services of Oglethorpe, but the scheme was to prove ephemeral.¹ In 1742, however, Henry Newman, a former New Englander and secretary of the S.P.C.K., as well as emigration agent for Huguenots and other persecuted Protestants, became enamoured with the same idea. He scoured London for boys to send to Oglethorpe; but of the 700 or 800 considered, found only one that was deemed able to meet the rugged physical requirements.²

During the century following the Georgia experiment, the societies maintained their interest in colonial life, and with the large exodus of the 1840's, became energetic participants in numerous emigration programmes. The S.P.C.K. published a total of eighteen emigration tracts in the years 1850, 1851, and 1852. William H. G. Kingston, the author of many of the pamphlets, was one of Britain's leading advocates of colonial settlement, and adopting a paternalistic, though elementary, tone he briefed the 'common classes' on the conduct requisite of loyal Britons and good Christians seeking a new home.³

THE EMIGRATION OF CHILDREN

At least two decades before the S.P.C.K.'s up-surge in emigration activity, other humanitarian bodies were formulating programmes under which to send out poor and uncared for children and young people. In 1830 there was formed, with Earl Grosvenor as president, the Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy. Since many philanthropists found the name unsatisfactory, the appellation subsequently was changed to that of the Children's Friend Society. One of the chief aims of the new organization was to finance the sending of destitute, but not criminally inclined, children to the colonies. To further such an objective, the society opened the Brenton Juvenile Asylum at Hackney Wick to train boys, and founded the Royal Victoria Asylum at Chiswick (named for its young patroness, Princess Victoria) to prepare girls, for colonial life.⁴ Brief courses in agriculture were instituted for the boys and related domestic subjects offered to the girls, and unless suitable situations were found in Britain, the youths were sent to the colonies where they were bound as apprentices.

Cape Colony was almost exclusively preferred at first, but the admixture of races and social disturbances seemed to create unnecessary moral problems for the children. The society, therefore, decided that Canada and New Brunswick, with their hardier life, were more propitious areas for settlement. The North American colonies viewed the ten to fourteen year olds as valuable additions to their sparse population: New Brunswick passed a law making the apprenticing of children easier, while the Clerk of the Peace for Upper Canada corresponded with the society and outlined that area's liberal methods of binding children.⁵ With the 1837 Canadian rebellion and the resulting uncertainty in British North America, transport of children across the Atlantic was stopped; and at approximately the same time a multitude of unfavourable reports concerning the handling of the young people at the Cape provoked an official British inquiry into that colony's social life. Cape authorities were so outraged by the investigation that they refused to accept further emigrants from the society. Consequently, only a few score children were actually sent out by the Children's Friend Society before its entire programme was discontinued.⁶

During the following decade, the establishment of agricultural schools for the training of prospective emigrants, both adults and children, became a common suggestion. Many charitably disposed

persons assumed that institutions could be set up outside every large industrial city, and after a few months of instruction, the unemployed mechanics would be able to cope with the frontier life of North America.⁷ Occasionally the school idea attained reality. On April 30, 1849, Prince Albert laid the foundation stone for a new farm school building at Redstone Hill, Reigate. Founded in 1788 and financed by philanthropists, the institution had taught industrial trades to about 1,500 juvenile offenders by 1848. As a result of the urban unemployment in the late forties, the new school decided to offer agricultural training so that it might better fulfil its previously ignored objective: 'to prepare the children instructed to its care in the best and most effective manner for emigration to the British settlements'.⁸

After the 1832 defeat of Michael Thomas Sadler, Anthony Ashley Cooper became the chief Parliamentary exponent of humanitarian emigration. To him emigration was not a matter of profit and loss, or of shovelling misery out of sight, but rather was an action of modest and sincere benevolence and part of a comprehensive programme to better the conditions of the unfortunate. Lord Ashley in many respects was neither a lovable nor an inspiring man, but he hated poverty, cruelty, and selfishness, and placed duty on a par with life. After studying the wretchedness of London slums, he came to the conclusion that 99 out of every 100 crimes against society were the result of unemployment which in turn resulted from limited training.⁹

Persons with similar convictions had opened Sabbath schools in the crowded urban areas and engaged in other juvenile instructional projects. They were especially concerned over the number of vagrant children who grew up in ignorance and vice, and without the benefit of academic, physical, or moral education. Many of the schools opened in the poorer neighbourhoods of London were connected with the Church of England, some received Nonconformist support, and a few were not affiliated with any religious organization.

In April 1844, while provincial cities were taking similar action,¹⁰ Lord Ashley set the forces in motion which led to the founding of the Ragged School Union. The school was to be a central agency heading up the divergent local training groups and giving support, unification, and publicity to their efforts. During the first twelve months twenty local London schools joined the union, but only £61 were raised to help support their activities.¹¹

Finding it personally impossible to continue his support of the Tories because of the Corn Law issue, Lord Ashley resigned his Parliamentary seat in January 1846, and did not return to the Commons until elected from Bath in July 1847. He had already been one of the leaders in the fight to improve the treatment for lunatics, to establish a ten-hour day in the textile mills, to prohibit women and children from working in the mines, and to protect chimney-sweepers. Now he devoted much time to an inspection of the slums of London, and threw himself into the movement to reclaim the unfortunate children of the metropolis through the Ragged Schools.

By 1848 Lord Ashley thought it time to launch a new type of programme on behalf of the London union. In a plea to the House of Commons on June 6, he requested a Parliamentary grant for the Ragged Schools. Since finding work for children in London was virtually impossible, the money was to be used to emigrate deserving students. He logically explained that if reformed children were again turned on to the streets without employment, they surely would revert to their vagrant ways. Only forty-one members of the Commons remained to hear the speech, and after several kind, courteous, but emphatic rejections, the motion was withdrawn.¹² However, as a consequence of Lord Ashley's influence, the government a few weeks later granted £1,500 with which 150 Ragged School pupils were sent to south Australia during the autumn and winter of 1848.¹³ When Ashley, in July 1849, asked that a grant be arranged on an annual basis, he was refused any further aid. Whereupon an appeal was made to the public for funds to maintain the emigration programme, and by early 1850 £1,129 had been collected; mostly gifts from the English nobility. The Queen and Prince Consort, making their usual charitable response, donated £100.¹⁴ Consequently, continuation of emigration was not only made possible, but the union's activities were expanded and also given greater publicity through the wide circulation of the *Ragged School Union Magazine*.¹⁵

Emigration soon became an integral part of each local school's programme and was offered as a prize to the winner of a contest, or as a kind of scholarship to the child with the best record. Railways granted reduced travel fare to the union's embarkation port at Liverpool. Approximately two-thirds of the children sailed for the South Pacific and one-third for North America. By May 1851 307 persons had been sent out and the union claimed almost all had

proved to be respectable, law-abiding subjects.¹⁶ Rarely was it admitted that any of the pauper youth were directed to the United States; however, emigrant letters, an important feature of the union magazine, disclosed that Joseph Brady and James Way settled in Schenectady County, New York. Also revealing was the fact that they had been 'the terror of Hoxton', and that each had a lengthy prison record which perhaps explains the reason for their being directed to the United States rather than to one of the colonies. The boys had been sent out through the activity of the local Ragged School, and not by the central agency. In addition to the departures financed by the central union, it was not uncommon for local schools to finance the transport of a few additional children.¹⁷ The number of boys that emigrated under the auspices of the central authority fell to fifty for the year ending May 1852, and to twenty-four during the following year.¹⁸

The union's reduced emigration promotion partially resulted from the activities of parish guardians. One group of children illegally sent out by the parochial authorities in 1850 had caused considerable trouble in America before most of them returned to London. Offences committed by juvenile English emigrants in the colonies or the United States were generally, though often incorrectly, credited to the Ragged School children. Thereafter, the union found its emigration programme under vigorous, though unjustified, attack.

A medley of causes further worked to diminish the Ragged School's emigration activities during the early fifties. After the discovery of gold in Australia and the ensuing gold rush, it was deemed inadvisable to subject the youth to such an unstable environment. When a former pupil transmitted £84 in gold dust back to London, and even consigned the largest nugget to his Ragged School teacher, it became undeniably clear that the boys were not following stable occupations.¹⁹ As the emigration programme became less novel, philanthropic contributions declined while renewed appeals to the government for funds were quickly rejected. In addition, the unfortunate shipwreck of September 1853, in which nine out of a party of eleven Canadian-bound youths were killed, dampened the ardour of most emigration proponents, and finally the Crimean War and the renewed prosperity of the middle fifties sharply reduced or cancelled entirely the need for boys to be carried from the homeland. But rather surprising, as the sending out of

boys was discontinued, a long dormant plan for female emigration was reintroduced.²⁰

A decade earlier, when Ragged School emigration had been initiated, thirteen girls had been sent to Australia; but their treatment on board ship had been so desultory and the general supervision so unsatisfactory that further female participation in the Ragged School emigration was cancelled.²¹ But as the emigration of boys was interrupted, an unusual incident brought about the revival of female departures. It probably was in 1856 that a young lady called upon Lord Ashley, now the Earl of Shaftesbury, and explained that she was one of the thirteen girls he had helped to send to Australia, and was then on her way to visit America with her husband, a successful merchant. The earl was so much impressed by the lady's story that he proposed an immediate revival of the earlier experiment.²² By the summer of 1857 sufficient funds had been amassed to send out a small party, and the matron of St. Giles' Refuge was chosen to accompany the first group of ten girls to Canada. The matron's glowing reports of Canada West and the friendly and even eager reception given the girls, plus a contribution of £400 from an English philanthropist, made it possible for twenty-five more girls to be taken out in the spring of 1858. But after the latter year, reduced funds and waning enthusiasm apparently led to the discontinuance of the programme.²³

From its inception, Ragged School emigration had been greeted with mixed emotions. Most journals approved of the humanitarian principle by which departures were being financed. The W. H. G. Kingston, Sidney Smith type of colonial votary saw in the programme the beginning of an important movement which they believed all urban districts should adopt. *Laissez-faire* publications thought the private approach in solving problems the correct philosophy,²⁴ but not all of the free traders supported child emigration. *The Edinburgh Review* approved of the training of children in work-houses and Ragged Schools, yet only with a view to teach them a trade to be practised at home. The journal was positive that workers of a nation ought never be given the notion that their future lay in a foreign country; besides, training schools should have a practical, not benevolent, philosophy behind them. 'Every system of charity is in itself a harm to the commonwealth, only justified by its efficacy in adverting some other and still greater evil.'²⁵

Many landed gentry and advocates of home colonization approved

of the Ragged School programme, but naturally condemned Lord Ashley for not settling the children in the rural areas of Britain.²⁶ The landed interests in Parliament had consistently opposed Ashley's attempts to get governmental assistance for the Ragged School emigration. One large segment of agrarian opinion was summarized by *The Times*.

Why is an industrious village lad to be denied and a reformed pickpocket accepted? . . . Why tell the country boy that his only chance of getting his passage paid to the colonies is to run to town, do a little pilfering, get familiar with the jail, go now and then to the Ragged School, just as it suits him, and after a very mixed career get sent out to the colonies?²⁷

Another criticism directed towards humanitarians was that they often supported emigration programmes more for *raisons d'état ou raisons d'économie* than for purely charitable motives. Perhaps the philanthropic groups employed the economic theme too often: decrease the overstocked home labour supply; benefit the colonies by sending them workers; and incidentally relieve the suffering of the poor and homeless were often listed as their objectives. The lower middle class was told that poor and untrained children lowered wages for the better-established operatives; therefore, in self-interest, they should help support the training and subsequent emigration of burdensome competitors.²⁸ And an equally direct overture was aimed at the British upper class; efforts were made to frighten them into altruism.

It may be found, when too late, that the sacred institutions of our country have been resting upon a volcano, which may yet burst forth, blotting out the sun of British prosperity in blood and darkness.²⁹

Truly, altruism was replaced by ignobleness in the unsavoury handling of another child-emigration project. On January 18, 1851, the Marylebone board of guardians held a lengthy discussion with Captain W. B. Burrows of the brig *James*. They met to consider the captain's application for the twelve to fourteen year old children then being maintained by the local workhouse. The youth were to be transported to Bermuda and apprenticed as domestic servants until they were eighteen years of age. It was stipulated that the guardians provide the outfit and pay £6 for each passage, while Burrows agreed to furnish the bed, bedding, and board while travelling. He frankly admitted that no adult, not even a matron for the girls, would accompany the children to look after their interests, and disclosed that no arrangement had been made for

returning the children to England if they later so desired. Burrows revealed that on a previous occasion a nineteen year old girl, oldest of a group of sixty children taken out from the St. Pancras workhouse, had acted as a matron. The Marylebone guardians unanimously refused to enlist Burrows' scheme to rid themselves of their young orphans and paupers.³⁰

When the news of the St. Pancras action became known, the central Poor Law Board initiated an inquiry. The investigators found that the prospective advantages of Bermuda had been made known to the children by a gentleman connected with the island, with the sanction of the director of St. Pancras Union, and in the presence of the master of the workhouse, the schoolmaster, and the chaplain. After acquiring questionable consent from the children, and in a few instances from their relatives, the youth had been sent out supposedly under a captain of 'high character', treated with 'great kindness', and apprenticed to 'good families'. After holding a somewhat half-hearted and one-sided inquiry, the government's supervisory board decided that, although the law clearly had been violated, because of the high motives of the local directors and the success of the emigration, no action would be taken against the St. Pancras Board.³¹

THE EMIGRATION OF VAGABONDS AND WOMEN

In the late forties, when Lord Ashley was so vigorously promoting Ragged School emigration, *The Times* brought to light another and more questionable humanitarian project with which he allegedly was connected. During the spring of 1848, an agent for the London City Mission, a religious-philanthropic organization operating in the London slums, met with a few gentlemen to discuss methods for improving the dissolute metropolitan districts. At one meeting, after the agent had brought before the assembly a few depraved persons who indicated their desire to live honestly, the benign gentlemen were impressed sufficiently to contribute £56 for the transport of thirteen men. No one was to be sent unless he was single, had a criminal record, and was generally undesirable. The money was to be used to get rid of the worst 'London weeds'.

Soon after the men had embarked for New York, Anne and Emma Lofinch appeared in police court and charged their husbands with desertion. An investigation of the complaints disclosed that two of the men forwarded had been their husbands, and that they had no criminal record whatsoever, but had fabricated a long list

of thefts and prison terms, and even memorized the names of underworld badmen in order to seem undesirable and thereby merit a free passage. Publication of the story not only made philanthropists seem simple and starry-eyed, but aroused thousands to a realization that the United States might prohibit all immigration if such illicit and underhanded methods continued.³²

Records seldom detail the extent to which philanthropic grants and smaller private donations aided in the departure of persons from towns and rural areas, but local societies were common in England and were especially numerous in Scotland. Perhaps the most widely known of the Scottish organizations was the Highland and Islands Emigration Society. Founded about mid-century when Canada was adverse to receiving paupers, it sent many hundreds of destitute Highlanders to the South Pacific. Public subscription for Highland emigration became commonplace in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and local Scottish societies, like those of Ceres and Kennoway in Fife-shire and Cults in Aberdeenshire, aided prospective emigrants by chartering ships and purchasing supplies.³³ The rapidity with which funds were raised to charter another ship when in 1843 Scotsmen of the ill-fated *Catherine* were stranded at Belfast exhibited Glasgow's benevolent attitude and her conception of the need for emigration.³⁴

Women along with children and criminals often provoked donations from charitably-disposed individuals. Those interested in the colonies realized that a predominantly male settlement had a limited future and was unhealthful socially, while at the same time the plurality of females to males in Britain created an undesirable situation with gloomy prospects for many.³⁵ Women had long been the conservative element in the emigration movement. In the twenties, William Cobbett had written that all women and especially English women transplanted badly, but that men should not allow themselves to be deprived of the opportunities offered by the New World. 'It is a poor creature of a man who will suffer this obstinacy to make him and his children beggars for the remainder of their lives.'³⁶

Pamphlets were written to give women the courage to leave home, and emigrant journals tried to encourage their departure by alternately flattering and scolding them. A Canadian lady, making use of womanly instincts in her emigration appeal, contended that the frontier condition forced men to rely heavily on female help; therefore, women became more important in men's lives. 'I am

sure that Harry loves me better as I am, than if I had remained a drawing-room lady all my life.'³⁷ Even *The Times*, in suggesting that workhouse boys be taken to the colonies, became the butt of an attack by female emigration proponents. A vicar argued that a levelling up of sexes necessitated the sending out of unmarried women and not of men.³⁸ Eventually, in May 1850, the discussion was carried to Parliament. The board of guardians of Berwick-upon-Tweed petitioned for the adoption of a measure to promote the carrying out of females; but after a few favourable comments, notice was taken that forty members were not in the Commons; consequently the House was adjourned.³⁹

More interest in the removal of females was being shown outside of Parliament. During the summer of 1849, a National Benevolent Emigration Society, subscribed to by ladies who wished to help unfortunate gentlewomen go to the colonies, was formed for the orphan daughters of professional men, military and naval officers, gentlemen, clergymen, bankers, and merchants.⁴⁰ Any sum borrowed from the society was to be paid back after colonial settlement. With these funds, plus new contributions, the ladies hoped to build up a revolving fund of £20,000 to £50,000. Although the government emigration department within the Colonial Office viewed the plan with favour, the project was abandoned after the colonies curtly pointed out that working women, not gentlewomen, were needed.⁴¹

By 1850 London had become a veritable hive of disparate and nondescript associations for the sending out of women. In September the London Female Emigration Society dispatched a party of eighteen women, all from the working class, to Toronto. Although several groups of Irish females were also landing in Canada, the London women were eagerly received and quickly found good positions.⁴² Nevertheless, through the early fifties it was Australia more than Canada that attracted the interest of the many London philanthropists.

Sidney Herbert's Fund for Promoting Female Emigration was especially designed to assist distressed needle-women and slop-workers of the metropolis to go to the island continent. The Fund included in its membership such dignitaries as John Russell, Lord Ashley, the Marquis of Westminster, the Earl of Harrowby, the Rothschilds, and several high governmental and judicial officials. But the emigration commissioners, remembering the ungracious colonial reception accorded the National Benevolent Emigration

Society, gave little encouragement to the new plan. Rather they cautioned that only farm girls and domestic servants were needed, and that only with difficulty could the unemployed women of London be absorbed in the colonies. Disregarding the commissioners' warning, the new group by the close of 1850 had selected 409 women to be taken to Australia. By that date the rapidly growing organization had established branch committees in Westminster, Holborn, Bloomsbury, Whitechapel, Southwark, Lambeth, Shadwell, Marylebone, and other sections of greater London.⁴³ Unfavourable reports from the colonies almost immediately pointed to dissatisfaction with the women emigrants, and some two years later, when two unmarried girls arrived pregnant, colonial opposition became so strong that the society was forced to disband.⁴⁴

Other less widely publicized female emigrant groups were being formed throughout the country; even in the northern islands of Scotland, the Shetland Female Emigration Fund was projected to help outfit young women for the voyage, while the government commissioners were to pay their passage.⁴⁵ Later in the decade, protective societies were founded with the object of assigning stewardesses for all emigrant ships on which unmarried women were to be transported unless a matron was otherwise provided. Female departures were intermittently promoted until well into the twentieth century, but they never again excited public attention or provoked widespread controversy comparable to that of the early fifties.

A few writers, especially the Chartist editors, counselled the 'daughters of toil' to beware of the false representations, and apparent Christian spirit of the female emigration promoters. Others limited their attacks to the physical and moral conditions prevailing at seaports and in the steerage of passenger ships.⁴⁶ Dr. J. Curtis, a ship's surgeon, wrote a series of articles entitled, 'The Floating Brothels of England and America', which were published in *Mona's Herald*, the leading journal of the Isle of Man. The *Herald* observed that if 'the public knew one-quarter of the atrocities practised on board emigrant ships they would sink them at their anchors'.⁴⁷ An English traveller pointed to the unusual hardships women had to undergo in emigration. He had watched the 'haggard, forlorn, and abject' land at Detroit, and thought he could 'distinguish in almost all, especially the women, an aspect of grief that indicated they were exiles, who had left behind all that tended to make life joyous and happy . . .'.⁴⁸

Vere Foster, a humanitarian sincerely interested in the Atlantic crossing and a landlord who sent out several parties of emigrants, took passage in the steerage of the ship *Washington* bound for New York in late 1850. Carefully detailing the treatment given to the travellers, his widely circulated report later shocked the British public. Not only were all rules of conduct and decency broken, but water and food were withheld from the travellers, the doctor refused to visit the sick, and the ship's mates cursed, struck with ropes, and knocked down helpless steerage passengers. Upon arrival in New York, Foster immediately wrote his brother, Sir Frederick Foster, who strove to promote governmental action; however, after much departmental hesitancy the incident was officially forgotten.⁴⁹

Even publishers and editors who urged emigration admittedly were horrified by the systematic victimization of the poor and unwary, and warned of the especially brazen 'crimps and runners' in Liverpool and New York. Travellers were cautioned to avoid unofficial money changers, itinerate ticket salesmen, and American agents who often accompanied passengers across the Atlantic so that they might more successfully despoil them.⁵⁰ James S. Buckingham fatuously claimed that one-third of all immigrants died within three years after arriving in America because of intemperance. All persons going by way of New York were admonished to shun the 'harpies' whose design it was to get the newcomers drunk and then take their money.⁵¹ Since the nearly fifty offices in New York, devoted to forwarding Europeans to the interior, had a total annual overhead of £32,000, presumably 'extortion' of the new arrivals paid the office expenses and provided 'munificent salaries' for the emigrant agents.⁵²

Philanthropists at Liverpool for a few months in 1850 improved conditions by forming an Emigrant Protection Society. The organization was at first able to persuade the passenger brokers to discontinue some of the inhumane practices, but by the end of the year the old methods were again in use. Visiting all major British ports in 1851, the Plymouth humanitarian, Rev. T. C. Childs, clearly outlined the horrible conditions in a letter to Sidney Herbert, and excoriated the government for its failure to apply strict controls.⁵³ Becoming more active in 1852, the government commissioners, through a series of posters scattered throughout Liverpool, instructed emigrants on how to arrange for the voyage and cautioned all those leaving to be aware of illegal agents; soon thereafter further

public pressure helped to bring about more stringent governmental supervision at embarkation points.⁵⁴ Thus, humanitarian endeavours had the dual effect of assisting thousands to leave Britain who otherwise would not have been financially able or sufficiently well informed to desire emigration, and at the same time stimulated public opinion to demand more and better safeguards for those who did leave.

EMIGRATION BY PIETISTIC GROUPS

A tangible manifestation of the extent to which emigration had been absorbed into the social character of Victorian England was demonstrated on December 26, 1842, by the organization of the British Temperance Emigration Society and Savings Funds. Giving impetus to the young society were publicized emigrant letters and especially the favourable accounts submitted to the group by J. Cole and William Sadler of Racine County, Wisconsin. John B. Newhall of Iowa also encouraged the movement by his lectures on the western states given throughout England in 1843.⁵⁵ Liverpool became the association's headquarters though the greater part of its membership, which reached a total of about 1,000, was from the West Riding of Yorkshire and was particularly centred in the Leeds area. John Pickup of Horsforth, Woodside, near Leeds, publicized the society through numerous articles written for the *Eastern Counties Herald*, and one Member of Parliament became so interested that he served as an officer in the association, and in 1847 sent two of his sons to visit the society's Wisconsin settlements.⁵⁶

Enrolled under the Friendly Societies Act, the organization took the form of a joint stock company, and required its members to pay one shilling per week for ten years. The payment entitled each shareholder to an eighty-acre estate in America, a house on the property, and a farm partially cleared and improved. By the spring of 1844, an agent had chosen a tract of land at Mazomanie, Dane County, near Madison, Wisconsin, and fourteen shareholders with their families had been emigrated.⁵⁷ It was not requisite that each share be paid up before members received their allotments of land; rather, shareholders balloted once every year in October and those who held the winning numbers sailed the following March. Upon arrival in Wisconsin, they were given possession of five acres of land with wheat, potatoes, and other crops already growing. A £5 yearly rent, plus the one shilling dues per week, was to be levied from those who had arrived in Wisconsin; at the end of the ten-year

period all shareholders were to be in America, and were to become sole owners of their eighty acres at the same time.

A rather large party of seventy families sailed from Liverpool in early 1845, but the 1846 and 1847 contingents were much smaller. Dissension in Gorstville (the settlement had been named for one of the society's founders, Robert Gorst) resulted in a few of the migrants' returning to England, and others refusing to pay rent to the organization or to maintain their one shilling a week contribution. Returning to the English shareholders what few pounds remained in the treasury, the association attempted to suspend operations in 1848, but litigation between the company's agents and the emigrants extended into the following decade.⁵⁸ During its brief period of activity approximately 700 persons, about one-half of whom actually settled at Gorstville, emigrated under the programme. They represented twelve English counties as well as Scotland, Wales, and the Isle of Man.⁵⁹

An organization similar to the Temperance Society in its tacit reference to moral issues and deprecation of intoxicants, yet firmly set against emigration, was the Vegetarian Society. It was formed in July 1847 with head offices at Manchester; and enlisting Members of Parliament, clergymen, and other community leaders among its active membership, consistently supported an anti-emigration policy.⁶⁰ Vegetarians readily agreed that if Britain continued to breed, fatten, and eat cattle she could not feed her people, and, thereby, necessitate their emigration. By adopting the vegetarian system, however, eight and probably ten times the British population could be fed, and the 'health, strength, sobriety, intellectuality, and morality' of the country would be vastly improved.⁶¹

The vegetarians reasoned that they had the key to destiny since the rapid increase in population would ultimately require the acceptance of their ideas. To them the answer was simple; since an acre of ground produced only eight ounces of beef or ten ounces of mutton per day, the people were forced to leave. But the same land, differently utilized, could produce four pounds of wheat or 146 pounds of 'ash-leaved kidney' potatoes per day; thereby provide food for all. Worked out in the most minute detail, the vegetarian programme outlined a veritable Utopia, but was impracticable and unrealistic to the point of absurdity.⁶²

RELIGIOUS EMIGRATION

Religion had been a major factor in the English emigration of the seventeenth century, and while Britain created few religious refugees in the eighteenth century, the spiritual stimulus of Methodism encouraged many ministers of that and other crusading faiths to emigrate to the colonies. The usual assumption that religious beliefs were the cause for very few British departures in the nineteenth century fails to weigh the influence religion exerted over early Victorian Britain; an era which produced many of the great evangelical and tractarian societies, saw the rapid growth in dissenting faiths, and reflected the lives of Newman, Manning, Maurice, Kingsley, Chalmers, Pusey, Stubbs, and others of similar stamp. In nineteenth-century Britain, as in society generally, the religious, economic, and political wellsprings of human action were so thoroughly merged that they became undefinable forces within a complex movement. Some rather distinctly religious motives, however, are discernible. Anglican thought on the subject of emigration exhibited a tendency to become nationalistic while Catholics and Nonconformists were inclined to associate Anglican landlords, Church of England schools, and religious tithes with their economic and political perplexities.

British Catholics, starting with the seventeenth-century colonization of Maryland and Pennsylvania, had constituted an important element in North American immigration. Later, in 1767, the lands of Prince Edward Island were allotted to sixty-seven proprietors who sent out Scottish Highlanders, mostly of the Catholic faith, to the new territory. Cape Breton Island, the northern fringe of Nova Scotia, and parts of Canada were likewise chiefly settled by Catholic Scots. By the nineteenth century emigrants of the Catholic belief who left England and Scotland were primarily Irish or of Irish descent. After finding conditions depressed in Liverpool, Glasgow, and other British cities, the Irish or their children often re-emigrated to the New World. Occasionally, however, persons of the Catholic faith from an old English gentry family left for North America.⁶³

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century there were several plans formulated for the settling of British Catholics in the New World. Among the more intriguing were Arthur Goodall Wavell's attempt between 1826 and 1835 to locate 450 Catholic families on his empresario grant in north-east Texas; and James

Power's unsuccessful plan of 1835 to settle Catholics on his empresario grant lying along the Gulf north of the Nueces River.⁶⁴

During the 1837-43 depression many Catholic clergymen of Britain's industrial centres began to urge parishioners to go to North America. As the unemployment and consequent destitution increased, the London Roman Catholic Emigration Society was promptly formed. Convinced that priests could lead small groups of urban Catholics to more auspicious surroundings in rural America, the society proceeded to publicize its objectives. Although gaining much support among the clergy and laity, some leading Catholic divines bitterly opposed the idea. Such opposition coupled with more prosperous times caused the project to founder during the mid-forties. Irish organizations of a similar type enjoyed a somewhat more sustained life.⁶⁵

The Catholic project that seemed to receive the most attention in the British press was essentially of Irish origin although widely publicized throughout the poorer Catholic districts of England. The Roman Catholic Emigration Society planned to purchase a tract of land in the United States, prepare it for occupancy, and then settle it with United Kingdom Catholics. Fostered by Daniel O'Connell and other politicians, the scheme had more the earmarks of a land agent's device to dispose of American property than that of a philanthropic venture. Urban Catholic workers had no funds with which to purchase land, nor did the hoped-for enthusiasm materialize.⁶⁶

After her pleasant experiences in the United States, Sarah Mytton Maury, an English lady of the upper middle class and a most ardent supporter of Catholicism though herself an Anglican, strongly urged English adherents of the faith to emigrate. The aggressive Mrs. Maury became well acquainted with the Catholic Bishop of New York; met numerous other American Church leaders; contacted high government officials; and even secured an appointment with President Polk. Her observations led to an explicit declaration to English Catholics that they could build an economic future and, at the same time, enjoy complete religious freedom in America.⁶⁷

A somewhat more thorough expression of Mrs. Maury's opinion was produced by a debonair and polished Englishman, Richard Beste. With his wife and eleven of his twelve children, Beste moved to the Wabash River in the American backwoods. A few years later, when he returned to Europe and compiled a book, a sizeable part of the two-volume work was devoted to a discussion of Catholic

emigration. Even during the early fifties, when Know-Nothingism was at its height, Beste told his English readers that no religious distinctions embittered social intercourse and no dominant clergy controlled the lands in America. He conceded that some religious bigotry did exist in eastern cities, but explained that it was only an off-shoot of Presbyterianism, and generally grew out of the insulting attitude that uneducated, Irish Catholics had taken. For educated English Catholic gentlemen with some money and a sense of duty and responsibility, western America was recommended as the land of liberal feelings and financial opportunities.⁶⁸ The influence of Maury, Beste, and other pro-American Catholics on emigration is highly problematical; but the opinion was current in Britain that many Catholics were crossing the Atlantic. A biased Scottish journal even alleged that the common morality of America was weakening and traced the cause to the large influx of Catholics from Britain.⁶⁹

Jewish emigration, like that sponsored by other religions, was primarily a personal matter. The Jewish Ladies Benevolent Loan and Visiting Society, however, formed an emigration committee which in 1853 discussed with Colonial Office representatives plans for young female departures.⁷⁰ But not until the turn of the century did the Jewish Board of Guardians and the Jewish Emigration Society begin to provide extensive emigration assistance.

Inasmuch as the Church of England had a co-existence with the state, a distinction between the activities of the Church, the government, and Anglican humanitarians was not always clearly drawn. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were essentially Church of England organizations, but as a result of their broad, nation-wide activities, and through their assistance to all British emigrants, they actually took on a non-sectarian character. Somewhat more limited in its functions was the Colonial Church Society which attempted, with some success, to impress upon Anglican emigrants the desirability of seeking out Episcopal pastors after arrival in the United States.⁷¹ *The Quarterly Educational Magazine of the Home and Colonial School Society* and *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, founded in the late 1840's, supported the sending out of female needle-workers and slop-workers from London, and proposed that Poor Law guardians be given power to finance the transporting of additional paupers to

the colonies. These periodicals show the close affinity between the Anglican Church and the British Empire.

Surely at this crisis, and at such an epoch, the Church of England has a duty to perform. She cannot and ought not to regard with indifference the spread of the Anglo-Saxon race over the earth, not caring what becomes of her children when they go forth to found future kingdoms.⁷²

In the summer of 1855 an association was constituted in London with the object of keeping the Anglicans who went to the United States within the Church. Led by H. Caswall, D.D., of Wiltshire and supported by clergymen of Somersetshire and other west-country counties, the organization hoped to secure about £500 per year from Church of England members. Funds were to be used occasionally to assist, and in all possible cases to maintain correspondence with, Anglicans who planned to emigrate. After making close contact with the Episcopal Church in America, the society's executive committee was to appoint factors in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and other American port cities. The agents were to receive from the English secretary certified lists of Anglican members known to the association to be proceeding to America. Episcopal agents at the ports could thereby better look after the temporal and spiritual interests of both their Church and the emigrants. American clergymen were enthusiastic and profuse in their praise of the project; however, owing to lack of support and the Crimean War activities in England, the plan failed to materialize.⁷³

Of course, not all, and perhaps not even a majority, of the Anglican leaders believed emigration to be necessary; there were many who specifically opposed the exodus to America. Such Church officials pointed out that the large number of English going to the United States was an alarming political, as well as religious, trend. Some of the British clergymen who had settled in Canada were especially caustic in their denunciation of the republic. Confusing religion with nationalism, a not uncommon practice, Rev. A. Rose, a Canadian immigrant, wrote:

Give me I say the cross-embazoned flag of my gracious liege lady Her Most Excellent Majesty Queen Victoria for my government, or I cannot be content; and I think he who prefers the 'stars' rightly deserves to have the 'stripes' into the bargain.⁷⁴

Naturally many clergymen did not relish seeing their communities depopulated even when the emigrants were going to the

colonies. An example was Dr. Burnett, Vicar of Bradford, who in 1848 admonished his parishioners not to leave, and at the same time counselled governmental officials to establish local land settlement programmes so that the unemployed might be absorbed into the home economy.⁷⁵

Probably more Nonconformists emigrated during the middle years of the nineteenth century than persons from the Anglican and Catholic faiths combined. As early as 1840 the Protestant Emigration Society of Glasgow charged their member in Parliament, James Oswald, with the responsibility of presenting their petitions for government aid, and the following year the First Glasgow Protestant Canadian Emigration Society contacted the Colonial Office for the same purpose.⁷⁶ In 1846 Thomas Rawlings, resident of Liverpool and New York, addressed a letter to the clergy of the United Kingdom in which he told dissenting ministers that by merely encouraging emigration they possessed the power to bring happiness and prosperity to thousands of their parishioners. Rawlings explained that the British Protective Emigration Society of New York (actually directed more by Episcopalians than by dissenters) was ready to help the migrants once they had crossed the Atlantic.⁷⁷ More tangible evidence of Nonconformist activity was the banding together of local groups like the Dissenters' Mutual Friendly Colonizing Society. Members were to give organized assistance to one another while travelling, and for the first few years after their arrival in the new community. Invariably, the mutual assistance projects failed when a co-operative land settlement scheme was included.⁷⁸

During the nineteenth century there was an almost constant succession of Methodist, Quaker, and to a lesser degree Congregational leaders flowing in and out of America. The Wesleyans were usually delegates to conferences, conventions, or other religious gatherings while the Friends were more often missionaries. Recently quite extensive indexing of the sundry diaries, journals, letters, notes, and other comments of these religious travellers have been made, but unfortunately most of the material still lies comparatively unexplored in British libraries.

Although parties of Methodists from Yorkshire settled with governmental sanction near present-day Nappan, Macan, and Amherst, Nova Scotia, and Sackville, New Brunswick, between 1772 and 1774, the government did not respond when in 1841 the Glasgow Wesleyan Emigration Society requested similar assistance.⁷⁹

Methodist pastors generally emphasized the favourable aspects of the United States, and often pointed out that America was a religious and political offspring of Britain; therefore, possessed the requisite cultural elements to make it a propitious emigration field.⁸⁰ Wales in particular furnished America with many forceful Methodist ministers like David Charles Hughes, father of Charles Evans Hughes who migrated from Tredegar, Montgomeryshire, to New York State in 1855.⁸¹

Exponents of emigration at times suggested that the Society of Friends, having been so successful in earlier emigration efforts, attempt a new experiment. It seems, however, that the Quakers held no particular view on the subject. Most were like Joseph Gurney who after spending three years teaching and lecturing in America for his faith, remained completely noncommittal on emigration.⁸²

Some seven years before the Rev. Dr. Caswell suggested the establishment of an organization to guide and direct Anglicans after their arrival in the New World, Presbyterian leaders had conceived a similar plan. Thomas Timpson, an English minister attracted by America's prosperity, first hinted at the idea in a public letter, 'England to America', written in London on December 16, 1847. D. R. Thomason, an Englishman by birth, but for years a Presbyterian minister in the United States, immediately took up the suggestion and within a few months had sparked the founding of the Emigrants' Friend Society of Philadelphia. The newly-formed group located at 95 South Front Street was to co-operate with the St. George's Society, the St. Andrews' Society, the Scotch Thistle Societies, and the Hibernian Society of Philadelphia.

In April 1848 one of the directors of the new organization contacted Sir Cullen Eardly Smith and proposed that Smith, Timpson, and other British Presbyterians set up societies designed to forward emigrants to the American agency. In the same month, the American group published a circular letter in a local religious publication, *The Presbyterian*. The letter requested that Presbyterian congregations in the central Atlantic states form auxiliary groups which would notify the central society of employment opportunities, check land titles, and locate available estates for the incoming British emigrants. Correspondence was conducted between several British industrial organizations and the Philadelphia group. Thomason was encouraging in his estimates of the job openings in America. Numerous United States landholders appeared anxious to receive

the emigrants and the society sought to place at least one party of operatives from Manchester. But when Timpson and the British Presbyterians failed to set up an effective co-operating organization, the international aspects of the agency collapsed.⁸³

More positive action was taken by some Presbyterian ministers. Upon returning from an American tour, they, like the Methodist leaders, informed Britons that starvation could be avoided by crossing the Atlantic to a land where men were urgently needed and wanted.⁸⁴

MORMON EMIGRATION

The evangelical fervour and organizational acumen displayed by the emigration programme of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints easily overshadowed the emigration activities of other religions. As early as May 27, 1840, the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* started publication in Manchester and the next year, about a decade after its original printing in America, the *Book of Mormon* was first produced in England. By the summer of 1840 the *Millennial Star* was reporting Mormon departures, and American missionaries who had arrived in Britain in 1837 had laid the ground work for a plan which matured into one of the largest systematized religious migrations in the history of the British Isles.⁸⁵

Joseph Smith had sent the first Mormon missionaries, two apostles and five elders, to England from Kirtland, Ohio. However, only six months later, by January 1838, the American colony had moved on to Independence, Missouri, and the next year back to the more permanent location at Nauvoo, Illinois. Consequently, it was not until 1840 that an extensive missionary effort was launched. Most of the apostles at Nauvoo obeyed Smith's order to proselytize in England, and by April 1840 a large company of missionaries was active in that field.⁸⁶ England was ripe for the economic and social doctrines proffered by the Latter-day Saints. Many Non-conformists, especially the Methodists, were breaking away from their earlier spiritual beliefs because their religion seemed to offer no solution for the inequities and miseries of this life. The Mormon doctrines met these objections and filled a socio-religious void. Along with their religion, the missionaries emphasized the abundance of rich land along the Mississippi, the employment opportunities for tradespeople, and the equality of social status enjoyed by converts.

On June 6, 1840, an initial cadre of forty-one, and about three

months later two hundred more, Mormon emigrants sailed for New York; the sea voyage was only the first link in their journey to the Saints' new home at Nauvoo, Illinois. Parties were accompanied by American Church agents, or old and responsible British converts who managed all business transactions and personally supervised the groups while travelling. Families not possessing sufficient means to complete the journey to Nauvoo were advised to stop in Buffalo, New York, Kirtland, Ohio, or nearby areas until they were financially able to move on west. Many who adopted the suggestion did later proceed to Nauvoo while others never resumed their journey.

Parties exceeding two hundred persons principally from the Preston and Manchester districts sailed from Liverpool in early 1841, and later in the same year the Church stationed an agent at Liverpool to superintend the fitting out of companies and to protect emigrants from victimization while waiting to embark. Smaller groups leaving from Herefordshire and adjacent counties sailed from Bristol, or from farther up the Severn at Sharpness Point.⁸⁷ By late summer, 1841, considerable curiosity and anxiety had been aroused in the west country

by the departure of great numbers of deluded country people (Mormonites), old and young, for the 'New Jerusalem' in America. Some of the unfortunate dupes . . . have broken up comfortable establishments at home. . . .⁸⁸

In most journals derogatory remarks were the rule rather than the exception when referring to Mormon emigration. Claiming to have visited Nauvoo, returning emigrants told fanciful stories which grew with circulation of its unfriendliness, chaotic social system, economic austerity, and general mismanagement;⁸⁹ but neither missionary zeal nor the emigration incentive seems to have been arrested by the opposition.

Starting in 1841, the port of debarkation was changed from New York to New Orleans because river transportation from the latter city to the settlement was considerably cheaper than the overland route from the Atlantic. Also, since Joseph Smith was constantly urging the establishment of manufacturing industries, he desired the English operatives and craftsmen to come directly to Nauvoo rather than linger in eastern industrial cities. However, after Smith's assassination in 1844, British Mormons again were advised to sail for Atlantic ports and temporarily settle in eastern communities; later they were to move west as job openings could be provided for them. Branches of the Church were established in

eastern cities to minister to the members until they could move on to Nauvoo.

Only one incident seriously marred the Mormon emigration work in Britain. During the summer of 1844, in an effort to step up departures, Reuben Hedlock, president of the Church in England, adopted the joint-stock company idea. The purchase of company stock would allow for the more economical procurement of supplies and for the more systematic scheduling of transportation; and as the individual's holdings in the company increased, he in turn would become eligible to emigrate. Both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young favoured the principles of Hedlock's Mutual Benefit Association. In mid-1846, however, a delegation of newly arrived missionaries found that Hedlock had squandered virtually all of the association's revenue on his organizational bureaucracy; whereupon he was excommunicated and the few remaining funds returned to the shareholders.

With the abandonment of Nauvoo and the hegira to the West beginning in February 1846, British departures were discontinued. Records of ship sailings indicate that by that date 4,750 persons in distinctly Mormon groups had left England;⁹⁰ however, the most authoritative figures are merely estimates as emigrant letters often directed friends to come with the Latter-day Saints as the cheapest and most satisfactory means of travelling.⁹¹ On the other hand, claims were made that the cleanliness, regularity, and moral deportation of the Saints while aboard ship caused many conversions at sea. For example, it was asserted that while the *Olympus* was between Liverpool and New Orleans in 1851, forty-eight passengers became converts.⁹²

As early as May 1841 the unusual emigrating practices adopted by the Saints were noticed. Boarding off their section of the ship, they sang Psalms, knitted, and kept happily and profitably employed while at sea. Always well fitted out for the journey, they sometimes had so much equipment that it was necessary to sell or abandon clothing and tools before moving inland from American ports. The British Government even recognized the superiority of the Mormon emigration methods. In 1854 Elder S. W. Richards was called before a select committee inquiring into the conditions aboard emigrant ships, and asked to give details on the very successful Mormon system for the benefit of the committee.⁹³

After the suspension of emigration to Nauvoo in early 1846, English plans were quickly initiated for water transport to San

Francisco. Many American elders in Britain, however, hoped to forestall further departures until a new settlement had been definitely decided upon. Some of the group believed the Pacific Northwest would be the new homeland, and encouraged the English converts to appeal to the Queen for emigration assistance. A 'Memorial to the Queen for the Relief, by Emigration, of a Portion of Her Poor Subjects' eventually was drawn up. It advocated that settlement in some portion of Britain's vacant territory was the only possible means of relief for thousands of depressed operatives and agricultural labourers. Vancouver Island or the Oregon country was suggested as being eminently feasible. The memorial explained that a British settlement would in time create a commerce sufficient to repay the government for the original expense of transport, the China trade would be stimulated, and the migration would help to preserve the British interests against the expanding inclination of the United States.⁹⁴ After signatures were attached, the instrument measured 168 feet in length, and was purported to contain nearly 13,000 names. Copies were widely distributed to Members of Parliament, government officials, and other influential individuals. Mormon leaders claimed that if Parliament would grant them land in the colonies and give them transportation assistance 20,000 persons representing all trades were anxious to depart.

Lord John Russell as head of the ministry acknowledged receipt of the petition without comment; but considerable correspondence was carried on with John Bowring, M.P. In a letter of February 11, 1847, from Thomas D. Brown to Bowring, it was explained that emigration to Vancouver Island was workable since 234 Saints had already landed at San Francisco and were anxious to go on to British territory. On April 1 Elder Orson Spencer, while presiding at a meeting of the British Saints, went so far as to declare Vancouver the gathering place for all Mormons and cautioned the Saints to go there and to no other spot in North America.⁹⁵ Although considerable correspondence was conducted with various members of the Commons, neither the government nor Parliament was seriously impressed with the Mormon plan to develop the British Northwest.

The plans of the British Saints to go to San Francisco, as well as their unusual interest in the Pacific Northwest, at least in part grew out of the turbulent era through which America, Britain, Mexico, and especially the Mormons were passing in 1846 and 1847. During the fateful autumn of 1845, apostles and missionaries were recalled to Nauvoo in preparation for the trek to the West. But the Saints

on the east coast were admonished not to migrate to Nauvoo since they would only add to the transportation problem. Rather, Samuel Brannan, the Church leader in New York City, was directed to transport the eastern group around the Horn to California. 'We do not want one Saint left in the United States after [early 1846]. . . . Let every branch in the east, west, north, and south be determined to flee out of Babylon either by land or sea. . . .' ⁹⁶ Brannan obviously interpreted this directive to mean that the Saints were going to meet in Mexican California.

In an effort to raise funds for the voyage, Brannan requested a government mail contract for Honolulu, and eventually was received by the Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall. Kendall, realizing that fertile California in all probability soon would be American soil, made an agreement with Brannan. Kendall was to use his influence in Washington on behalf of the Mormons, and in return demanded a contract which assured him and a financial acquaintance, A. G. Benson, one-half of all lands the Saints might acquire in California.

Since the intrigue preceding the Mexican War was at its height, Kendall apparently suggested that customs officials and other international complications could be avoided if Brannan gave the impression that the party was going to Oregon. On February 4, 1846, as the *Brooklyn* sailed out of New York harbour with 238 Mormons on board, they hoisted the Oregon flag. Quite naturally, many Americans and even the British Mormon leaders concluded that the Saints planned to settle somewhere in the Pacific Northwest. ⁹⁷

Late in 1847, after the Great Salt Lake Valley had been fixed upon as the Saints' home, Brigham Young dispatched one of his most zealous apostles to instruct the British to join their brethren in the Rocky Mountains. They were to come by way of New Orleans, the Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers to Council Bluffs, Iowa, where preparations could be made for the last part of the journey. Economic conditions in Britain had been steadily deteriorating during 1846-47, and Mormon departures had been restrained only with difficulty; therefore, the call from America found thousands eager to respond. Wales was especially sensitive to the summons. In the northern portions of the country the emigrants proceeded directly to Liverpool, while devotees from Monmouthshire, Brecknockshire, and Glamorganshire took passage at Swansea for Liverpool where they joined larger bodies. Dan Jones, brother of the famous

Welsh preacher 'Jones, Llangollen', led out two of the largest parties from southern Wales. As captain of a ship which carried Mormons on the Mississippi River, he had been converted to the faith in 1843, and the next year directed to return to his homeland as a missionary. Although Mormonism was not unknown in Wales, it was Jones who carried its precepts to almost every part of the country. He established a magazine, *Prophwyd y Jubili*, at Merthyr Tydfil, and by February 1849 was able to lead 249 converts from Swansea to Liverpool, thence across the Atlantic. Jones returned to Wales in 1852, and after re-establishing his journal and distributing 250,000 Welsh pamphlets, conducted 703 more of his countrymen to the New Zion in 1856.⁹⁸

With continentals generally coming to Hull, then crossing England by canal or rail, Liverpool, after 1852, became the Mormon embarkation port for all of Europe, while New Orleans continued as their point of entry. However, reports of sickness on the lower Mississippi led Young to prescribe in August 1854 that the Mormon parties proceed to Atlantic cities. Those not possessing sufficient capital to reach Salt Lake were advised to seek work in towns along the way. They were not to arrive in Council Bluffs penniless unless it was absolutely unavoidable.

Since many persons were too poor to start the voyage, and as virtually all needed some assistance, the Perpetual Emigration Fund was founded in 1849, and chartered by the assembly of the Mormon state of Deseret a year later. All or part of the emigrant's expenses could be paid by the fund, but with the understanding that those so benefited would reimburse the society as soon as they became financially able. By 1854 £6,832 19s. 11d. had been contributed to the fund in Great Britain, with which nearly 1,700 persons had been helped to emigrate. An additional 349 persons had been assisted by relatives and former neighbours in America. They deposited money at Salt Lake which those leaving could draw on at the Liverpool office.⁹⁹

As the Perpetual Emigration Fund was not sufficient to transport the many clamouring to leave, several additional schemes were attempted. A plan was devised whereby Mormons with limited funds could pay £10 (£13 after 1853) in Liverpool and receive transportation to the Midwest. From there they worked their way in Mormon parties on to the 'Great Valley'. After the Saints formed a colony on the Lugo tract at the Rancho San Bernardino in 1851, there was considerable speculation that Europeans might

land at San Diego or Los Angeles, then move inland to the new community. Some could locate permanently in California while others were to move on to Salt Lake. But the experiment failed at realization and even the San Bernardino settlement was liquidated during the 1857 Mormon struggle for independence.

Most novel was the system inaugurated in 1856 by which emigrants and American migrants literally walked across the plains pushing or pulling their possessions in small handcarts. The movement of the first two handcart parties from Iowa to Salt Lake was an unqualified success. But almost 1,000 other migrants, who started the trek late in summer, were caught in early winter snows and suffered the most extreme hardships; almost one-fourth of the group perished before reaching Zion. The unfortunate experiences of the 1856 emigrants, the Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857, and difficulties with the United States Government in the late fifties led to British emigration being completely discontinued for 1858, and less enthusiastically resorted to in later years.¹⁰⁰ Copies of contemporary reports compiled by the Latter-day Saints' European Publishing and Emigration Office at 42 Islington Street, Liverpool, indicate that by December 1860 slightly over 29,000 Mormons, approximately 4,300 of them continentals, had sailed from England.¹⁰¹

SUMMATION

The decades following the Parliamentary Reform Act were not devoid of great humanitarians or insensible to human suffering. In fact, the social achievements of one of Britain's greatest ages has too often been belittled. Perhaps the demand for political, economic, and social reforms was as much the result of a keener sensitiveness to misery as it was the outgrowth of an expanding industrialism. To the philanthropists, emigration seemed to be one of the most natural agencies by which human adversity could be mitigated. Contemporary Britain could extend only the most limited opportunities to thousands of her subjects, whereas the unexploited possibilities of North America seemed limitless. The transfer of orphans and dejected paupers to regions where their services would be in demand and their energies could be profitably employed presumably would awaken the spirit of the individual migrants, and also produce a more healthful atmosphere within the depressed and over-burdened British communities. 'The breath of this country cannot be sweetened unless we remove that which taints it.'¹⁰²

Humanitarians also assumed that the environment absorbing the newcomers would be economically strengthened, socially matured, and spiritually stabilized. The Earl of Shaftesbury and like-minded philanthropists did not allow the torch of English humanitarianism to burn low; rather with Tory grace, they carried it from Wilberforce and abolition to Kingsley and Christian socialism.

On the other hand, it is obvious that benevolent intent was not always uppermost in all emigration practices especially those aimed at 'shovelling misery out of sight'. And the tinge of selfishness seems to be revealed in many of the philanthropic ventures. In the Ragged School emigration a desire to help pauper children was accompanied by an urge to remove, rather than eliminate, destitution. Female emigration to predominately male colonies could relieve the distress of over-worked, but starving, British women; yet it was more often suggested that a growing colonial population would perpetuate the glory of Britain and create a sure market for her products. The shipping out of prostitutes, transportation assistance given to ex-criminals, and the selling of children's services to Bermuda landlords often inadvertently or incidentally benefited the emigrant; nevertheless, it was questionable philanthropy. A more progressive and enlightened altruism would have led the would-be benefactors to press for a basic adjustment of the British social structure. A larger measure of human welfare would have been served through an attack upon deep-seated injustices than by offering the crutch of emigration to those disabled by a system that was sound, yet in part antiquated; that was noble, yet often calloused.

Of course, selfishness could be attributed to all of man's endeavours, and the rapidity and extent of group reaction to the human destitution of the mid-century years demonstrate that humanity still played a cogent part in British thinking. It is true, nevertheless, that the paternalism traditional with the great English landowners was weakening, and governmental paternalism, or protection, was still in its infancy. In the interim the *laissez-faire* advocates opposed philanthropic emigration on the grounds that it weakened the individual initiative; but they talked of individualism, without giving much thought to the individual.

Each religion saw in emigration a means to help its members, and at the same time a way to strengthen its establishment. Since the Church of England felt itself to be a vital force within the British Empire, the expansion and development of the colonies gave it

an additional reason to foster emigration. Although political and educational limitations on non-Anglican beliefs were dissolving, the American ideal of complete religious freedom without state interference appealed to Catholic and Nonconformist Englishmen. The dissenters wished to spread the gospel as they interpreted it, while many Catholics resented the inferior status Westminster accorded to their faith.

Mormons emigrated to improve their economic and social position, and because they believed it to be the will of God.

The channel of Saints' emigration to the land of Zion is now opened. The long-wished-for time of gathering has come. Good tidings from Mount Zion! The resting place of Israel, for the last days, has been discovered. . . .¹⁰³

Considering the well-ordered operation of the programme, and the loyalty to original purpose shown by the emigrants after their arrival in America, the Mormons conducted the only successful, privately organized emigration system of the period.

NOTES

¹ W. K. Lowther Clarke, *Eighteenth-Century Piety* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1944), p. 100. Originally taken from *Publick Spirit, Illustrated in the Life and Designs of the Reverend Thomas Bray, D.D., Late Minister of St. Botolph without Aldgate* by J. Brotherton (Cornhill, London, 1746).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

³ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts revised its emigration activities in 1849 by taking offices in Lincoln's Inn Fields and collecting funds to send chaplains and teachers with the emigration ships.

⁴ Edward M. Hance, *Reformatories and Industrial Schools* (Liverpool: D. Marples & Co., Ltd., 1883), p. 9.

⁵ *Fourth Annual Report of the Children's Friend Society* (London, 1834), pp. 8-9.

⁶ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Children's Friend Society, 1840, XXXIII (323).*

During the mid-thirties, a small number of pauper children were sent from British cities to Canada. *Senate Document, Report from the Secretary of Treasury, Relative to Deportation of Paupers from Great Britain, 1836, 24th Congress, 2nd Session, Serial No. 297, No. 5.*

⁷ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 12 (January 8, 1842), 5-6.

⁸ *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 42 (May 5, 1849), 589.

⁹ *The Standard* (London), No. 7460 (July 12, 1848), 4.

¹⁰ Forming ragged or industrial schools at about the same time as London were Bath, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, York, Edinburgh, Dumfries, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen, with Newcastle, Hull, Plymouth, and other cities soon following.

Lord Ashley became Chairman of the London Union, an office which he proudly held for the next thirty-nine years.

¹¹ *Third Annual Report of the Ragged School Union* (London, 1847), p. 8.

¹² Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), XCIX, 1848, 429-70.

¹³ The programme came into operation in October 1848. The average age of the children sent out was sixteen.

The government had received many requests for assistance to emigrate children. In 1841 the Rev. Thaddeus Osgood had even headed a Society for Orphans and Destitute Children. Its purpose was to secure official aid and send the children to Canada. The Colonial Office, however, refused to take action. C.O. 384/67, Emigration: North America, 1841.

¹⁴ *Sixth Annual Report of the Ragged School Union* (London, 1850), p. 9. Many lords and ladies were members of the society as were merchants, bankers, shipbuilders, architects, naval officers, and clergymen.

¹⁵ The magazine was a monthly, priced at 2d. During its first year of publication nearly 60,000 copies were circulated.

¹⁶ *Seventh Annual Report of the Ragged School Union* (London, 1851), p. 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31. 'The Emigrant Corner', *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, IV (January 1852), 6-8.

Brady and Way were from an extremely poor district in London's East End. At least one other boy from the same district arrived in the United States. But he, desiring to return to London, borrowed money from his two associates and disappeared, never to be heard from again. Later, it was admitted that boys were being sent to America. In the spring of 1852, the plans to send two youths to Indiana were publicly discussed. 'Emigration', *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, V (May 1853), 92-93.

¹⁸ *Eighth Annual Report of the Ragged School Union* (London, 1852), p. 9. *Ninth Annual Report of the Ragged School Union* (London, 1853), p. 9.

¹⁹ John MacGregor, *Ragged Schools, Their Rise, Progress and Results* (London: Sampson Low & Son, 1853), p. 21.

²⁰ The *Annie Jane* was blown on to the rocks on the west coast of Scotland. Of the two boys escaping death, one made his way back to London and was sent out the second time; the other, while walking home became ill and spent several months in a Liverpool charity hospital, but at last reached London starved and in rags. The first boy had written an account of his experiences before his second sailing so that with the return of the second lad, the entire affair made a dramatic story which received wide circulation. *Tenth Annual Report of the Ragged School Union* (London, 1854), p. 9.

²¹ 'Emigration of Girls as well as Boys to Canada', *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, IX (1857), 156-58.

While the preceding reference indicated that no female emigration was conducted by the Ragged School between 1848 and 1857, other references contradict the statement. Canadians, unfamiliar with the organizations sending out children, quite often incorrectly labelled all of them as being from the Ragged School Union. For an example see: Major Samuel Strickland, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West, or the Experience of an Early Settler* (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), II, 313 ff.

²² 'Emigration of Girls as well as Boys to Canada', *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, IX (1857), 156-58.

²³ 'The Fourteenth Anniversary of the Ragged School Union', *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, X (1858), 108.

²⁴ Other cities with ragged or industrial schools did not develop an emigration programme similar to that of London; however, they did often discuss and encourage local emigration.

²⁵ 'Immigration and Industrial Training', *The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal*, XCII (October 1850), 496.

²⁶ J. H. Hodson, *A Partial Method for the Extinction of Pauperism and Poor-Rates* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1849), pp. 1-20.

²⁷ *The Times* (London), July 26, 1849.

²⁸ The appeal was not misdirected since considerable opposition to and economic fear of the philanthropic schools originated with the lower classes. Many from that strata seemed to think that philanthropic schools would merely train competitors for their jobs. 'The Impulse of Emigration Needed to Carry on the Ragged School Movement', *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, II (February 1850), 37-39.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II (Preface), iv.

³⁰ *The Morning Chronicle* (London), No. 26, 250 (January 18, 1851), 2.

The Parish of Marylebone, the largest in England, had long been plagued with pauper youth. As early as June 1848 the Rev. Dr. Spry and his vestrymen decided to co-operate with the parish guardians in petitioning the House of Commons for funds with which to emigrate children. Apparently, contact already had been made with gentlemen in the colonies who were willing to pay much of the transportation costs. *The Times* (London), June 5, 1848, p. 3.

³¹ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Directors of the Poor at St. Pancras, 1851*, XL (243), 19-20.

The St. Pancras board apparently sent three parties of children to Bermuda and by so doing broke at least three statutes. Both 4 & 5 Will. IV, c. 76, sec. lxiii, and 7 & 8 Vict., c. 101, sec. xxix, permitted emigration activities by boards of guardians only after the approval of the central Poor Law Board, while 13 & 14 Vict., c. 101, sec. iv, clearly required that orphans, deserted children, or others in similar circumstances could be emigrated only after they gave their consent before two Justices of the Peace.

³² *The Times* (London), September 18, 1848, p. 3, and September 21, 1848, p. 4.

³³ Guillet, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

³⁴ The *Catherine* sailed illegally from Tobermory, Isle of Mull, and after rough weather became disabled and was forced back to Belfast where the poverty-ridden passengers were stranded until public-spirited persons of Glasgow raised the funds to send the people on to Prince Edward Island and Canada in another ship. *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Emigrant Ship Catherine*, 1844, XXXV (503).

³⁵ In 1841 Great Britain had 97 males to 100 females; the United States, 100 males to 97 females; Upper Canada, 100 males to 90 females; and New South Wales, 100 males to 50 females. *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, I (1842), 457.

³⁶ William Cobbett, *The Emigrants' Guide* (London: William Cobbett, 1829), p. 34.

³⁷ Theodor Brown, 'The Gentleman Emigrant', *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, new series, II (September 28, 1844), 204. Also see *Tales of the Colonies: or, the Adventures of an Emigrant* (London: Saunders & Otley, ca. 1843).

Women were told that if they only realized its advantages they would try emigration immediately. 'Hundreds of young ladies who once figured as belles in crowded ballrooms, and are now the happy, industrious, and prosperous wives of Colonists, and mothers of healthy children, but who, had they remained in England, would too probably have become, like thousands and thousands, jaded, listless, unhappy women, unable to marry, and in many instances useless members of society.' 'The Colonist's Note Book', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XXI (1851), 344.

³⁸ *The Times* (London), July 28, 1848, p. 5.

³⁹ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), CXI, 1850, 433.

⁴⁰ The organization should not be confused with the National Female Emigration Society formed at London several years later and which in 1862 amalgamated with the Colonial Emigration Society of Birmingham to form the National Colonial Emigration Society of which Lord Lyttelton was president.

⁴¹ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Emigration Relative to Australia*, 1850 [1163] 98-102.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Emigration to British North America, 1851, XL (348), 34.

⁴³ The British Ladies Female Emigrant Society, whose president was the Dowager Duchess of Beaufort, was a related philanthropic agency which selected the matron to travel with young emigrants. It also attempted to train the females before embarking and while aboard ship.

⁴⁴ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Emigration to Australia*, 1852, XXXIV [1489]; and Emigration to Australia, 1852-53, LXVIII [1627].

⁴⁵ Kingston, *How to Emigrate*, p. 284.

⁴⁶ *Reynold's Political Instructor* (London), I, No. 9 (January 5, 1850), 66.

William H. G. Kingston denied the statements of a pamphlet entitled, *Do Not Emigrate until You Can Possess that Portion of the Land which Should Be Yours*, which told Britons that the government and its favourites were keeping the people from their rightful possessions at home and that no woman was safe on an emigrant ship. Kingston, *How to Emigrate*, p. 284.

⁴⁷ C.O. 384/99, Emigration: Public Offices and Miscellaneous, 1857.

⁴⁸ J. Benwell, *An Englishman's Travels in America* (London: Binns & Goodwin, 1853), p. 65.

⁴⁹ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Lords, Emigrant Ship Washington*, 1851, XVI (198); and *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Emigrant Washington*, 1851, XL (198).

Over 250,000 copies of Foster's pamphlet had been sold by 1855; the price was 1d. per copy. Foster's experience was not an isolated case as Sarah Maury, travelling in 1845, had publicized both in England and America the deplorable conditions on board emigrant ships, and Stephen E. DeVere, an Irish landlord, had travelled by steerage in 1847 to learn the actual conditions. DeVere's experiences eventually came under the notice of a select committee of the House of Lords. Later in the fifties, even the emigration commissioners and Colonial Office debated for several weeks whether they should dispatch secret agents aboard emigration ships to collect accurate information, but the Colonial Secretary, Labouchere, ultimately decided that such action was not justified. C.O. 384/99 Emigration: Public Offices and Miscellaneous, 1857.

⁵⁰ *Cassell's Emigrants' Handbook* (London: John Cassell, La Belle Sauvage Yard, 1855), p. 8.

⁵¹ James Silk Buckingham, *America, Historical, Statistic, and Descriptive* (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1841), II, 417.

⁵² Some emigrant brokers allegedly employed as many as forty or fifty emigrant agents. *Cassell's Emigrants' Handbook*, p. 20.

One writer insisted that an office was set up on Broadway to sell counterfeit railway tickets. The first ticket, being valid, carried the holder far enough from the city that it was impossible to take action when he found the remaining tickets to be fraudulent. 'Emigrant Jottings. Emigrant Entrappers', *Chambers' Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Arts*, XXIII (March 3, 1855), 141.

⁵³ *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 58 (August 25, 1849); and 'Present System of British Emigration', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XXI (1851), 242.

⁵⁴ C.O. 384/89, Emigration: General, Miscellaneous, 1852.

⁵⁵ *Descriptions of the Wisconsin Territory and Some of the States and Territories Adjoining to It in the Western Parts of the United States of America* (Liverpool: The Committee of the British Temperance Emigration Society and Saving Fund, 1843); and Sidney Smith, *The Settler's New Home; or the Emigrant's Location, Being a Guide to Emigrants* (London: John Kendrick, 1849), p. 105.

⁵⁶ *The Reformer* (London), No. 5 (May 26, 1849), 37.

⁵⁷ *The Pottery Examiner and Workman's Advocate*, No. 25 (May 1844), 196.

⁵⁸ *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal*, No. 16 (January 1849), 122.

⁵⁹ Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921), V, 477.

⁶⁰ *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 54 (July 28, 1849), 743.

⁶¹ *Emigration, Unnecessary, Impolitic, and Injurious* (London: W. Horsell & Aldine Chambers, ca. 1849), p. 4.

⁶² *Ibid.* (Entire pamphlet.)

⁶³ J. D. Rogers, *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1911), V, Part III, 54-56.

⁶⁴ Robert W. Amsler, 'Life and Times of Arthur Goodall Wavell' (Unpublished dissertation, University of Texas, 1950). Mary Virginia Henderson, 'Minor Empresario Contracts for the Colonization of Texas, 1825-1834', *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (July 1928).

⁶⁵ Pooley, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

⁶⁶ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Advocate* (London), No. 72 (March 4, 1843), 4.

⁶⁷ Sarah M. Maury, *An Englishwoman in America* (London: Thomas Richardson & Son, 1848), Part I, p. cxviii, and Part II.

⁶⁸ Richard J. Beste, *The Wabash: or Adventures of an English Gentleman's Family in the Interior of America* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1855), II, 13-17 and 299-303.

⁶⁹ 'The United States of North America', *The North British Review*, II (November 1845), 141-42.

⁷⁰ C.O. 384/91, Emigration: General, Offices, and Individuals, 1853.

⁷¹ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Advocate* (London), No. 29 (May 7, 1842), 6-7.

⁷² James Cecil Wynter, 'Hints on Church Colonization', *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, III (July 1849-June 1850), 350.

⁷³ 'Association for the Spiritual Aid of English Churchmen, Emigrating to the United States', *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, IX (July 1855-June 1856), 59-64.

⁷⁴ A. Rose, *The Emigrant Churchman in Canada*, ed. Rev. Henry Christmas (London: Richard Bentley, 1849), II, 252-53.

⁷⁵ *Newcastle Courant* (Newcastle), July 7, 1848.

⁷⁶ C.O. 384/61, Emigration: North America, 1840; C.O. 384/67, Emigration: North America, 1841.

⁷⁷ Rawlings, *Emigration: An Address to the Clergy*, p. 7.

There was in New York, the Saint George, Saint Andrew, Saint Patrick, and Saint David Societies; all had as their object charitable assistance for emigrants. In 1844 the British Protective Emigrant Society was founded by New York merchants of English descent and with the support of the British consul. It was primarily an Episcopal organization, but gave help to all emigrants from the United Kingdom regardless of their religious affiliation. From November 1844 to November 1847, 880 English, 422 Irish, 205 Scotch, and 67 Welsh requested employment aid from the society. Rev. Moses Marcus, *Address on the Temporal and Spiritual Conditions of British Emigrants* (New York: T. J. Crowell & Co., 1846). C. H. Webb, *A Manual for Emigrants* (New York: Printed by William Osborn, 1849). Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1949).

⁷⁸ The society was to enlist no more than seventy adults, with each family purchasing fifty-six shares at fifty shillings per share and paying an additional sum for children. Passage to and plots of land near Port Phillip were to be granted to shareholders; however, applications were not accepted unless accompanied by recommendations. The scheme failed. W. R. P., *Dissenters' Mutual Friendly Colonizing Society* (London: Trelawney W. Saunders, 1848).

⁷⁹ Rogers, *op. cit.*, 57. C.O. 384/67, Emigration: North America, 1841.

The British Government in 1832, in an effort to detach the Canadian Wesleyans from those of the United States, had started a contribution of £900 per annum to the British Wesleyan Conference in Upper Canada. Paul Knaplund, 'Sir James Stephen and British North American Problems, 1840-1847', *The Canadian Historical Review*, V, No. 1 (March 1924), 31-32.

⁸⁰ James Dixon, D.D., *Methodism in America* (London: John Mason, 1849).

⁸¹ Rev. Frederick Jobson of Bradford was chosen at the Wesleyan Conference held at Leeds in August 1855 to go to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America meeting at Indianapolis in May 1856. While travelling, he wrote an interesting series of letters to his wife from which a book was later composed. He emphasized the extensive lands and vast opportunities to be found in America. Rev. Frederick J. Jobson, *America, and American Methodism* (New York: Virtue, Emmins & Co., 1857).

⁸² Joseph John Gurney, *A Journey in North America, Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie* (Norwich: Joseph Fletcher, 1841); and *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal*, No. 22 (March 1, 1849), 174.

⁸³ D. R. Thomason, *Hints to Emigrants or to Those Who May Contemplate Emigrating to the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Isaac Ashmead, printer, 1848).

⁸⁴ George Lewis, *Impressions of America and the American Churches* (Edinburgh: W. P. Kennedy, 1845), pp. 34-36.

⁸⁵ *The Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, I, No. 5 (September 1840). The missionaries worked with unusual diligence, and by 1840 claimed over 4,000 English converts. By 1851 the number had grown to over 50,000, and both Her Majesty and the Prince Consort had been presented with the *Book of Mormon*. Wales, the industrial Midlands, and southern Scotland were the most receptive to the new religion.

⁸⁶ During the first year of the stepped-up activity in England, 5,000 copies of the *Book of Mormon*, 3,000 hymn books, 50,000 tracts, and 2,500 copies of the *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star* were printed. Hamlin M. Cannon, 'Migration of English Mormons to America', *American Historical Review*, LII, No. 3 (April 1947), 437-40.

⁸⁷ *The Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, I, No. 10 (February 1841).

⁸⁸ *The Times* (London), August 14, 1841, p. 6.

⁸⁹ Letters from a James Greenlagh, excoriating conditions in the Mormon communities in America, were printed in pamphlet form and distributed for 1d. each. *The Struggle*, No. 36 and No. 37 (1842).

⁹⁰ James Linforth (editor) and Frederick Piercy (engraver), *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards, 1855). The total was compiled from tables on pp. 14-16. A few groups sailing from the Severn after April 1841 are not included in the 4,750 estimate; these Mormons, plus others not travelling in parties, would increase the total emigration to over 5,000 persons.

⁹¹ *The Potters' Examiner and Workman's Advocate*, I, No. 8 (January 20, 1844), 64.

Several of the Staffordshire potters became Mormons and settled at Nauvoo, and their favourable letters helped to stimulate the rather large Mormon emigration from that area. See *The Potter's Examiner*, I, No. 10 (February 3, 1844) and No. 14 (March 2, 1844).

Many contemporaries agreed that the large majority of the Saints were recruited from the manufacturing districts of England and Wales. Sir Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (London: John Murray, 1849), I, 90. *The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal*, XCII (October 1850), 345.

⁹² Linforth and Piercy, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁹³ John Glanville Taylor, *The United States and Cuba* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851), p. 280. *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Report from the Select Committee on Emigration Ships, 1854, XIII (163) and (349). *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 48 (June 16, 1849).

⁹⁴ *The Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, VIII, No. 9 (November 20, 1846), 142.

⁹⁵ Linforth and Piercy, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

⁹⁶ Paul Bailey, *Sam Brannan and the California Mormons* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1853), p. 48.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 33 (March 3, 1849), 447. David Williams, 'The Welsh Mormons', *The Welsh Review*, VII, No. 2, 1948.

⁹⁹ Linforth and Piercy, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰⁰ Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1861), p. 682.

Early in 1858 a rumour that the Saints were going to move to the British Northwest led the Colonial Office to instruct Governor Douglas of Vancouver Island that he was not to allow the Mormons to enter or settle in the territory as a community, but individual families of the faith were not to be prohibited. Under no circumstances were land grants to be made to them. (F.O. 5/704, America: Domestic, Various, 1858.) The British rumour apparently started from a letter written by J. Roake and sent to the British Consul at Buffalo warning that the Mormons planned to settle on the Saskatchewan River. The information was passed on to Lord Napier at Washington, then to the home government. (F.O. 5/690, America: From Lord Napier, 1858.) One party of Mormons, while not going to Canada, did settle with their leader, James Strang, on Beaver Island at the northern end of Lake Michigan.

¹⁰¹ Totals compiled from information in Linforth and Piercy, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16 and 117-20; and Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-63.

¹⁰² George Bell, 'Emigration in Connection with Ragged and Industrial Schools', *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, IV (October 1852), 182.

¹⁰³ Such instructions were issued to the Mormons of the United Kingdom on February 1, 1848. Linforth and Piercy, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

“TO BE DISPOSED OF BY THE

DIET + TUMS

DIRECTIONS.

FRANCIS H. MITCHELL, Esq.
MARTIN T. SMITH, Esq.
ALEXANDER STEWART, Esq.
THOMAS STONES, Esq.

580.0007

WILLIAM GAUSSEN, Esq.
THOMAS POYNDR, Esq.
WILLIAM WILSON, Esq.

The present price of the Company's shares in the London market is from 25s. to 17s. 6d. currency per acre and sometimes higher.

from 100 acres, upon price being 2s. per acre, the

The Voyage to Canada, may be taken at about 4 weeks, and, since the introduction of Steam Navigation upon the Atlantic, the voyage in Canada West may be easily reached in the summer season in 17 days.

sufficient to take all his luggage to the station of the barge:

are the fare from Montreuil to Bryonville is 8s, per quart allowance of language; 1 cent, to let, free, and for any quantity over and above this 9s, per quart. The same fares continue through in Kingston; the fare from Bryonville to Kingston is 10s, per quart, some allowance of language as above, and 2d, for every extra seat. The average voyage from Montreal to Kingston is six days, most of the time being spent in the boat. It is not so bad as the fare is estimated. When the French come on board the baggage at Kingston his baggage now, but he cannot until he reaches Kingston: he will find apartments for cooking, and the female part of his family will find shelter in the cabin of this baggage. In case of cold weather he can get his family on board the vessel at Lacrosse (seven miles from Montreuil), where the baggage are taken in two or three light boats, five miles from Lacrosse; the baggage there as usual (about

As early as 1826, the British government sold over 2,000,000 acres of land to the newly-chartered Canada Company subject to the condition that the company open up the region by making basic improvements and taking out emigrants. The company was especially active before the Canadian Rebellion of 1837.

Enclosure in No. 5.

BRITISH-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR EMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION.

5.

CAPITAL, £.1,000,000, in £.20 Shares.—DEPOSITS, £.5 per Share.

PRESIDENT.—His Grace the Duke of Argyll.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

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|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| *The Marquess of Huntly, K.T. | The Earl of Dunmore. | Lord Duffus. |
| The Marquess of Downshire, K.P. | The Earl of Castlestewart. | *Lord Belhaven. |
| The Marquess of Bute. | *The Earl of Gosford, G.C.B. | Lord Elibank. |
| The Marquess of Lorn. | *Lord Scarsdale. | Lord Kilmaine. |
| The Earl of Carnwath. | Lord Forbes. | Lord Macdonald. |

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Sir James Gordon, Premier Baronet of Scotland and Nova Scotia.

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| Sir Edward Crosbie, Bart. | Sir James W. Mackenzie, Bart. | &c. &c. &c. |
| Sir John C. Fairlie, Bart. | Sir John Reid, Bart. | |
| Sir Fitzroy G. Maclean, Bart. | Sir George S. Mackenzie, Bart. | |
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- Superintendent of Settlers in Canada.—Sir James D. Hamilton Hay, Bart.

STANDING COUNSEL.

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| „ George Barrett Lennard, Esq. | „ J. H. Peters, Esq., Solicitor-General, Prince Edward Island. |

BANKERS.

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|---|--------------------------------------|
| London. Messrs. Glyn, Hallifax, Mills & Co. | Edinburgh. Sir William Forbes & Co. |
| „ Messrs. Cockburn & Co. | Glasgow. The Union Bank of Scotland. |

SECRETARY.—W. H. Buckerfield, Esq.

OFFICES, 29, New Bridge-street, Blackfriars, London.

The British-American Association was organized in 1841 by the Canadian immigration agent, Dr. Thomas Rolph. At first, it was enthusiastically supported by an impressive list of Scottish gentlemen who were desirous of ridding their estates of redundant crofters. After an unsuccessful attempt to transport Britons to Prince Edward Island, the society succumbed in late 1842.

TO EMIGRANTS,

Who are desirous of emigrating to the United States of America, general information will be furnished respecting the majority of the Estates, on personal application, or by letter (post paid) addressed to the EAST TENNESSEE LAND COMPANY'S OFFICE, Mr. KEARNE'S SOLICITOR, 5, RED LION SQUARE, LONDON.

FARMERS, MECHANICS, MANUFACTURERS, and Others, wishing to purchase Improved Farms in East Tennessee, can, on application to the above Company, be furnished with copious printed Descriptions (price 2s. 6d.) of One Hundred and Seventy-Nine Farms, which are now for sale by them. The Description include the number of acres of Cleared Land now under fence and in cultivation ; the number of acres of Orchard, Meadow, and Woodland ; also Descriptions of the Mansion Houses, Mills, Barns, Out-Buildings, &c., embracing Notices of the Water Power, distances from Towns, and other Particulars.

The Price of each Farm will be affixed to the Description.

ROYAL Emigration Society Extraordinary



London.—J. Sharp, Printer, 40, Kent Street, Gate.

When late in 1836, King William gave his approval to a semi-official emigration plan, certain radicals bitterly denounced the move. The cartoon on one of their pamphlet covers showed the people being clawed from the eye of truth, England, into the hell of emigration.

The Struggle.

"God gives us rain and fruitful showers, to fill our hearts with food and gladness."—Paul.



THE ABSURDITY OF FORCED EMIGRATION.

The Struggle was an Anti-Corn Law publication which from its inception in 1842 waged a campaign against emigration. In this, the first issue, farmers were shown taking a cow to the grass on a sod roof instead of transporting the grass to the cow. Transporting people to food instead of food to people was supposedly equally foolish.

UNION IS STRENGTH.

POTTERS' EMIGRATION SOCIETY.

RULES

AND REGULATIONS OF THE

LONDON DISTRICT COMMITTEE.

That this Committee be appointed for the management of the general business of the London Branches.

That matters of general interest arising in the Branches be referred by them, through their Delegates, to this Committee for their opinion, such Delegates to represent the opinions of their Branches, and not their own.

That all propositions to the Parent Society respecting alterations of Byes Laws, Management, Appropriations of Money, and of proceedings generally be submitted through this Committee.

Formation and Management

That this Committee be composed of Delegates from the London Branches, such Delegates to be their Branches.

That all Branches not exceeding fifty members send two Delegates, and one for every additional fifty.

That the time and place of meeting be decided by the Delegates.

That the hours of business be from half past eight, till half past ten o'clock in the evening.

That it is incumbent on every member, and President, to have the power to extend the time, when necessary.

That every member possess a name, with power to act.

That a President be elected at each meeting, and that he act so that night only, but he shall go on to the next meeting.

That the President have power to demand the observations of those who are present, by each, and every member.

That upon Delegates, meeting in their absence, for two consecutive nights of meeting, when a such shall be sent to their Branches, and the hours of the next meeting, and if not there in attendance, such Delegates or Delegates shall be disqualified, and the Branch which he or they represent shall appoint another, or others in their stead.

That Delegates meeting in all cases, in their instructions, or not abiding by the decision of the President, be liable to expulsion.

That the opinions of the Committee be brought by its members generally.

That a Secretary be elected, and that he write, and generate matters, and insert all minutes, and letters in a Book, open to the public.

That the Committee be composed of one member from each Branch, and that the Secretary be elected by the members of the London Branches, and that the Secretary be elected by the members of the London Branches, and that the Secretary be elected by the members of the London Branches.

By the late 1840's, the Potters' Emigration Society, which had been founded in 1844, was expanded to enrol workers from other trades. The organization became especially active in London, where this broadside, made of heavy cardboard measuring 11½ by 18½ inches and printed in bright red and blue, was posted.

PART II

*THE EMIGRATION MOVEMENT AS A
PUBLIC ISSUE*

CHAPTER V

BUSINESS: EMIGRATION A PANACEA OR PANDORA

MANY eighteenth-century rationalistic thinkers suggested that since Newton had proved that the physical universe was governed by simple, yet inextirpable, laws perhaps much of the confusion could be removed from human intercourse if mankind also sought for a true and abiding law for society. Although no set of natural rules by which to regulate conduct was found, a nineteenth-century tendency to stress the merits of personal individuality and a belief that government control had long retarded human progress led to an acceptance of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. The 'free play of forces' concept was readily converted into practice, and shaped a pattern of conduct for the expanding business communities. As the idea became widely accepted, advocates of emigration seized upon it, and used and misused it in their promotional campaigns.

It was pointed up that insects, birds, and animals, following the law of nature, migrated instinctively when food supplies grew inadequate; the analogy being that man should follow the same law and leave depressed and over-populated England.¹ Some writers deemed it scarcely necessary to discuss emigration as they believe it to be an inherent law that people should flow from closely occupied to more sparsely inhabited regions where, upon the authority of Adam Smith, the new settlers were more likely to succeed than the persons who remained at home.² Arguing the inevitability of progress as well as spontaneity of migration, Eliot Warburton attempted to demonstrate that culture followed the setting sun. Civilization, having started in the East, had shifted slowly westward to France and Britain, and was irresistibly moving on towards the great western continent of North America.³ Other law of nature enthusiasts turned to God, Himself, to show that He had commanded Adam and Eve to be 'fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth', and later specifically told Abraham to 'get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee'.⁴

Waxing eloquent in a speech at Halstead, Essex, William H. G. Kingston informed his audience that the Almighty had decreed to

Anglo-Saxons the task of peopling the uninhabited parts of the globe, and explained that in time all would emigrate by being 'translated to that great colony', heaven.⁵ In accepting the natural law idea, members of the Manchester school announced that God had designated some parts of the world as food-producing regions while other areas were better for manufacturing. Britain, being in the latter category, had become eminent and wealthy through trade with America and the colonies. That fact should make it obvious that customers abroad formed the greatest good and paupers at home represented the most pronounced evil to English society. Consequently, lax or indulgently enforced Poor Laws and even charity was inexcusable when paupers could be converted into customers through emigration.⁶

EMIGRATION AS A PROFITABLE ENTERPRISE

With the loss of some markets and the growing rivalry for others, certain British businessmen began to encourage emigration. The idea was advanced not so much to eliminate unemployment as (1) to provide markets for manufactured goods; (2) to create a profitable outlet for surplus capital and open up channels for investment; (3) to develop new sources from which to purchase raw supplies; (4) to augment Britain's carrying trade; and (5) to stimulate outfitters and related businesses. Of course, differences of opinion arose over whether the United States or the colonies could better perform such economic services, and whether public or only private means should be used to effectuate the withdrawals.

(1) Far-reaching proposals for the creation of new markets through emigration became frequent. A Yorkshireman who had settled in Illinois stated in a widely circulated pamphlet that Britain's greatness rested on manufacturing and commerce, and that the chief contributor to that success had been the United States.⁷ Since Americans and Britons had similar ambitions, tastes, and desires, the latter could supply America with finished products while America in turn could furnish England with food and raw materials. It was shown that the trade with British India which had a population of 130,000,000 was considerably less than the £7,000,000 worth of annual exports to the 17,000,000 persons of the United States.⁸

Others approved of the basic view, but believed that emigrants should be funnelled to the colonies rather than to the United States. Even Thomas Carlyle, who abhorred the new industry with its dirty cities and smoke-filled valleys, reasoned that England's only

sure markets were in her colonies, and suggested a bridge of ships be built to connect them with the homeland.⁹ Before the Mexican War, remote regions like the Columbia River basin, territory along the Colorado River, California, and Texas were occasionally represented as areas to which Britons could be profitably directed. But fundamentally, whether the workmen went to the United States, British North America, or some desolate frontier region, it was the profits to be accrued by home industries that spurred the manufacturers' interests. Nor was it assumed that all, or even a majority, of the poor need emigrate to promote internal prosperity. According to the theory, the needs of every North American food producer was sufficient to keep one Briton occupied manufacturing for him, and another busily engaged in handling the commodities and transporting them across the Atlantic.

(2) Openings for the investment of capital were to some the *sine qua non* for emigration. The United States and the colonies could function not only as an outlet for manufactured goods, but financiers, who received 4 per cent per annum on their investments in Britain, were informed that they could obtain 10 per cent in the new settlements. The Industrial Revolution plus the growing capitalistic economy had produced surplus wealth in Britain which she was anxious to invest. English-speaking immigrants, developing the frontier areas, building factories, and constructing transportation systems, would call for loans from home and pay the high speculative interest rates. British North America, having no large cities and a more restricted frontier, offered less temptation for the employment of large amounts of capital; financial interests, therefore, tended to prefer that emigrant labour be made available to United States' employers.¹⁰ Becoming increasingly vocal, Canada roundly condemned the investors for assisting her southern neighbour while she languished supposedly because of Britain's financial antipathy and selfish neglect.

But the colonies also had their champions. Advocates of colonial immigration contended that one of the few advantages to be derived from colonies was the outlet they afforded the mother country for her surplus population; concomitantly with which should come the safe and profitable employment of British capital. Only in a colony could a financier be assured of his investment as even English-speaking nations who were not under British political control could default on payment and make investments unsure.¹¹ Consequently, the colonial votaries demanded that the emigration of

money, skill, and population be directed to Canada. Regarding a continuous flow of capital to the United States as uneconomic and impolitic, they complained that the states were able to allure British emigrants merely because they had first been able to attract British investment.

Insurance agents were quick to see in emigration a new field for activity, but of more significance, emigration proponents thought they saw in insurance the answer to financial perplexities impeding the movement. As early as 1839, William Bridges advanced the idea of developing waste lands in North America and forming them into independent settlements through the use of a freehold insurance plan.¹² By 1842 Bridges had become an active promoter for his scheme and a few years later Arthur Scratchley, a former Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, added his support to the Bridges' thesis.¹³ In the late forties and early fifties Texas and western Virginia land agents and other real estate promoters partially embraced the Bridges' principle.¹⁴ George Sheppard, leader of a small party of emigrants from the Hull area to Clinton County, Iowa, actually embodied many of the freehold insurance concepts in his organization. His application of the idea, however, led to rather unfortunate developments within the settlement.¹⁵

Numerous and varied life assurance and freehold plans were circulated, but their underlying precepts differed only in detail. Colonial land was to be purchased, forests cleared, and houses built; the insurance company would then sell a life insurance policy to a prospective emigrant for which the settler would receive a plot of land with the proviso that he would pay the company a rent for the remainder of his life. Upon his death, or in twenty or thirty years if he chose to pay a higher rent, the land would be deeded to him or his heirs in fee simple. The younger the emigrant, the less the yearly premium or rent. Proposals were made that the government loan the insurance company the original sum to purchase lands. The offer was based on the principle that the government would actually be alleviating its unemployment problem at no permanent expense to itself. Although companies were actually formed in a few instances, none of their emigration activities materialized.¹⁶

(3) About mid-century some Manchester industrialists came to see emigration as a tool by which to insure factory owners a constant supply of raw products. Manufacturers were painfully cognizant of the strained relations with the United States, and were well aware that the southern plantation owners exerted a virtual monopoly

over the production of raw cotton. They, therefore, turned first to the Republic of Texas as a possible answer to their dilemma. Upon the elimination of that possibility in 1846, a Joint Stock Company was founded the next year for the purpose of emigrating Britons to Australia to become cotton farmers. The Manchester and Lancashire Australian Emigration Society assisted in sending out a few persons, but as the government refused to co-operate in the venture, the project was soon abandoned.¹⁷ Canada offered no possibilities for cotton growing; however, she was suggested as being qualified to produce increased supplies of wool. Even in the depression year of 1847, manufacturers complained of the shortage of raw wool, and it was generally agreed that more employment could be given to spinners and weavers if greater numbers of the British unemployed were to become wool producers in the colonies.¹⁸

The actual influence exerted by the manufacturing and financial interests, which suggested emigration so that North America might import more products or become a field for greater capital investment, was not extensive. They discussed the issues in terms of general business policy and did not address their remarks to any particular element of potential emigrants, or stress the specific benefits to be derived by those who left. Popularization of and familiarization with emigration no doubt provoked wider interest in the topic, and the increased debate in government and business circles perhaps cultivated a climate in which other stimuli more easily begot departures. It was not, however, the manufacturing concerns or financial firms which most energetically sanctioned the cause of emigration, but rather the commercial companies and certain British and North American railway promoters.

(4) Shipping companies were quick to see that immediate and direct profits could be gained from an extensive transport of persons. Through the twenties and thirties human freight going west added a welcome complement to the generally larger and bulkier produce filling the holds of east-bound Atlantic ships; in 1827 outward-bound vessels for British North America had an unemployed capacity of 400,000 tons.¹⁹ The need to fill the unused space with something other than ballast led shipping interests to make a concentrated effort to secure paying emigrant cargoes. Before railways interlaced the hinterland, lumber boats, which moved from port to port unloading portions of their burden at coastal towns, took aboard small parties of emigrants who partially filled the ships when they quietly headed across the Atlantic for more timber.

Competition for the emigrant business became so keen that passage fees were forced down to less than £4 per person. Many Welsh were carried on slate schooners, while thousands from manufacturing areas occupied the same space on the outgoing vessels that was filled with cotton or tobacco on the incoming voyage.

With the centralization created by the use of steam power both on land and sea, and the resulting development of large commercial companies, the emigrant transport business gradually fell into the hands of small groups of Englishmen and Americans who also commonly owned the outfitting shops and boarding houses at the embarkation points.²⁰ In the early days ships captains had contracted with prospective emigrants at the seaport, but as the movement grew into a profitable business, contracts for filling a ship's steerage space generally were let by commercial houses to individuals or small concerns. The agents travelled about the countryside, and solicited trade. In periods of depression the problem was not to find persons anxious to leave, but rather to secure those financially able to pay for their passage. Perhaps typical was the case of the captain who in late 1830 advertised in the *Manchester Times* that on a certain day he would be at Deansgate to contract with persons desiring to go to America. Upon arrival, he found the street crowded with 600 to 700 individuals eager to emigrate, but without funds to pay their passage.²¹

In securing the needed human cargo, the ship-brokers and agents many times used the most wanton and devious means to enhance their own profit at the emigrant's expense. Uninformed persons were directed to the co-operating boarding houses where they were charged excessive rates, and sold contaminated food and useless utensils for the voyage. Deceptive advertising became the order of the day. The size, speed, time of sailing, and even destination of the vessel, as well as the expense and necessities of travelling, were often falsely represented. Quite naturally the employment possibilities, wages, and limitless wonders of America were over-emphasized, while forged letters and fabulous advertisement were circulated, and offers for specific employment were placed in English journals by the unethical ship contractors. Crooks and charlatans, having absolutely no connection with any shipping company, passed through the country collecting surprisingly large sums from unsuspecting persons. After making expensive trips to seaports, the victims often discovered that the vessel on which they were to sail did not even exist.

The story of William F. Johnson, who with a friend appeared before a Liverpool judge in October 1837, was not uncommon. The two men had read an announcement in a Kent newspaper which explained that jobs were open in the United States for men qualified to become freight agents. Upon arrival in Liverpool they had contacted a man designated in the advertisement and given him most of their savings to secure passage and arrange for immediate employment in America. The man had disappeared with the money.²²

More legitimate was the policy of ship-brokers to encourage former emigrants to transmit funds to, or purchase transport tickets at, American offices for friends and relatives remaining in Britain. Occasionally, the companies also accrued profits from the migrants' return voyage. *The Times* of September 9, 1837, in depicting the 'squalid destitution' that often greeted emigrants upon their arrival in America, went on to tell of the hundreds of Britons who immediately set to work to save enough money to purchase a return ticket. Some 350 such repatriates had just arrived in Liverpool:

All of them bitterly denouncing the base arts of swindling captains and ship-owners, who had induced them to leave their happy homes, by advertising in Europe that 'labourers in America were gaining from three to four dollars per day' and other lying and delusive statements, to tempt and betray poor emigrants into greater miseries than they would be likely, in the worst of times, to encounter in their native land.

That the commercial companies were prospering by the emigrant trade was cogently demonstrated by the complaints they submitted in the late forties and fifties when Parliament advocated a more stringent regulation of passenger traffic.²³

As Liverpool became the port through which a majority of the emigrants flowed, private citizens and social groups strove to improve the deplorable conditions existing at the boarding houses and embarkation docks. At first little success was achieved. Later, however, when letters from former emigrants began to instruct friends to avoid Liverpool at all costs, and when the government began to send out the Australian emigrants from other ports and patronize the shipowners of other coastal cities, Liverpool businessmen became alarmed and started to outline corrective measures. By 1850 over 200,000 persons were passing through the port annually, thereby spending over £1,500,000 in the city exclusive of the additional shipping, employment for dock workers, and other profitable operations that the emigration traffic set in motion.²⁴

(5) Outfitting companies were not only doing a lucrative business as a result of the departures, but also formed the basis for several ambitious proposals. James Silk Buckingham predicted that if the government would settle about a million persons per year in British North America, all British industry would be enlivened through the selling of equipment for the voyage. Orders would be sent:

To Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and Rochdale, for woollens and flannels; to Manchester, Bolton, Oldham, and Stockport, for printed and plain calicoes and fustians; to Derby, Coventry, and Macclesfield, for silks and ribbons; to Nottingham and Leicester for hats, hosiery, and lace; to Birmingham and Wolverhampton for ironmongery of every kind; to Sheffield for axes, edge tools, and cutlery; to Staffordshire for china, earthenware, and glass; to Belfast and Dundee for linen; to Glasgow and Paisley for cotton and woollen goods; and to London for books, stationery, plate, jewellery, and [other small articles].²⁵

At least one outfitter, S. W. Silver & Company, published a monthly periodical which encouraged emigration and advertised a most diverse assortment of products. The first issue of Silver's *Emigration Guide* advertised fluid magnesia to cure indigestion and relieve seasickness, wine for the voyage, ventilating surgical gussets to prevent rupture, chemicals for washing at sea, agriculture tools of all kinds, and perfume vaporizers to make the ship smell like flowers. Gutta-percha soles for boots while travelling, tincture for rheumatism, many makes and types of guns, tickets for transport on western railways, ink powders, cork mattresses, and diverse assortments of clothing were other articles frequently shown to be absolute musts for the emigrant. Land companies selling Canadian, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia town sites, village lots, farms, and mines were included among the emigrant promotion projects.

Even the book publishers and sellers took advantage of the emigration boom to enrichen themselves; guides like *Bradford's North-Western America*, *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge*, *American Facts*, *The Emigrant's Guide*, and *Marshall's Farmers' and Emigrants' Hand-Book* were widely circulated and went through numerous printings. One critic of the emigration system clairvoyantly explained that many of the groups encouraging the exodus did it for their own economic or political benefit.

They influence a ship-owner by stating it will create a demand for ships; the ship-chandler and biscuit baker fall into the same trap. A few fashionable idlers who have nothing to do, join anything that is recommended by their friends. These, with some fussy M.P. for a head, who finds this an economical way of suffering himself into popularity complete the precious [emigration] board.²⁶

Emigration had become big business. It already was accruing immediate profits for outfitters and shippers, and seemed to promise even greater economic returns. But it was the commercial men, not the manufacturing industrialists, who generally campaigned for ships, colonies, and commerce.²⁷ That emigrants to a colony were of more real worth than those to the United States was readily shown by the colonial supporters. In 1860, British North America imported from the mother country at the rate of £1 2s. 6d. *per capita* and exported to Britain £1 3s. 3d.; while the United States imported at the rate of 16s. 6d. and exported at the rate of £1 3s. 4d. *per capita*.²⁸ At earlier periods, when the population of British North America was much smaller, the *per capita* purchases by Canadians had been even greater. To the imperial and commercial interests, as well as to many emigrant enthusiasts, such figures not only proved the value of the colonies, but also showed their immense potentialities. Obviously if large numbers of Britons, who would fill their needs from home warehouses, were to be settled abroad, both surplus goods and redundant population could be siphoned off simultaneously. How could the British Empire be more effectively and economically strengthened?

Dozens of schemes, normally proffered to help the unemployed at home and to vitalize the enfeebled colonies abroad, were drawn up by theorizing benefactors. Typical of the thinking was the suggestion that small bodies of pioneer soldiers could protect Canada militarily, and in addition clear the forests and build houses for prospective immigrants. Settlers would eventually pay all costs after they became prosperous farmers, or from wages they would earn while preparing homes for the next group of arrivals. Presumably, the programme would strengthen the colonies militarily, politically, and economically; provide a home for British paupers; weld the empire more closely together; and divert the stream of emigrants from the United States to British North America.²⁹

A less nationalistic, but no less positive, position was taken by Alexander Mackay who declared that, in light of his North American travels, the multitudes of surplus population should be taught to depart for any region across the Atlantic. The perplexity was not where they should go, but that more of them should be raised out of their ignorance and lethargy and encouraged to go some place. He told of auspicious Scottish friends who only recently had left Paisley, Glasgow, and other crowded cities as paupers, and who already had become independent and pros-

perous citizens of the New World. Mackay condemned the aristocracy, the wealthy, and the government for not championing an emigration policy that would reinforce the political system, generate trade, and allow unemployed operatives to take advantage of North American opportunities. With the country's growing so rapidly in wealth, but also in poverty, Mackay was afraid that Britain's failure to carry out emigration would yet recoil with terrible severity upon her. He questioned how the British social system could long exist when the wealthiest nation in the world allowed one out of seven of her citizens to become a pauper. 'As the fabric of our national greatness towers more and more to heaven, the shadows which it casts over the landscape become deeper and more elongated.'³⁰ Emigration could be a safety valve for the fury produced by adversity and despair.

Others equally apprehensive, caustically attacked the Manchester men for not taking action to counteract the 'sputterings and burnings' of radicalism, chartism, and socialism at a time when the ground was ready to give way and revolution engulf all Britain. Chartism, instead of clothing, was emanating from Manchester factories.

What is the Legislature doing? What is the Aristocracy doing? What is the Church doing? . . . *Laissez-faire* and Malthus, Malthus and *Laissez-faire*—ought not these two at length to part company?³¹

Guidance and instruction for the poor leading to both privately conducted and publicly organized emigration was suggested as a more Christian philosophy than: '*Laissez faire la misère; laissez passer la mort*'.³²

It should always be remembered, however, that there were many prominent men of business who advocated emigration but doubted if it could be the panacea for Britain's economic and political ills. To them the chief value of the movement lay in the new opportunities made available to the individual. Such men agreed that selfish acts at times contributed to social advancement, but they maintained that such self-interest could never be a substitute for the higher principles of duty and charity. To overcome the multifarious evils and hardships attending departure, they proposed a planned programme aimed at procuring the greatest tangible benefits for the emigrant. Old school paternalists sincerely believed any advantage which accrued to British businessmen or colonial employers would be incidental to the assistance rendered to fellow human beings.³³

EMIGRATION AND NORTH AMERICAN RAILROADS

Continentials like the German J. J. Sturz attempted to rouse awareness and mould the reaction of British businessmen to the commercial potentialities of a properly regulated and directed emigration programme. Sturz furthered the idea that emigrants should be funnelled to regions where they would give the most permanent employment to British shippers, and warned Britain that persons entering the United States augmented American rather than imperial trade. In order to remain a great commercial nation, Britain must direct the human flow from the United States to British North America. Also, it was to Britain's interest to keep out-bound vessels loaded with passengers in order to reduce the shipping charges on returning cargoes.³⁴

Using the shippers as something of a foil, Sturz was able to proceed to his underlying plan of railway speculation. Writing from Germany, though formerly an English resident, he suggested an Atlantic and Pacific railway across British North America partially to be financed by the British and Canadian Governments, and partially through the sale of \$5.00 lottery tickets. The winning numbers were to be worth forty acres of land along the proposed railway. By controlling wages and prices in the construction area, the imperial government could entice agriculturists to migrate, and even draw settlers from the United States to Canada. At the same time, the shorter route to the Orient would make Britain the first European nation to tap directly the Pacific trade.³⁵

Numerous combined railway and emigration schemes similar to the Sturz plan were offered to the British public or tendered to the government during the forties and fifties. Much railway publicity was generated by land companies which hoped that railway facilities would encourage emigrants to purchase their estates. The St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad project running from Portland to Montreal commenced promotion activities in 1845, and many of the provisional committee members, who represented the group in England, were also directors of the British American Land Company.³⁶ Operating in equally close co-operation was the Canada Land Company and the Toronto and Lake Huron Railroad Company. Frederick Widder, agent for the Canada Company, later became a representative for the railroad company, and was sent to London to negotiate for both groups.³⁷

In the midst of the Irish depression and mass exodus of 1847,

Earl Grey suggested to Lieutenant-Governor Colebrook of New Brunswick that some definite steps be taken to encourage emigrant settlements within that colony. The New Brunswick assembly responded by proposing that Great Britain aid in the development of the St. Andrews Railroad Company.³⁸ The line was to serve as a branch of the Halifax and Quebec Railway and as an outlet for the Great Western of Canada, neither of which was yet under construction. The emigrant agent for New Brunswick, M. H. Pearley, who was sent to England to enlist support for the St. Andrews Railway projects, was also the resident commissioner for the North American Colonization Association, and acting in the latter capacity, had purchased 100,000 acres of New Brunswick land through which the projected railway was to run.³⁹ Later the Colonial Office pressed the government of New Brunswick for help in financing the European and North American Railway so that emigrants might be more readily assimilated into the provincial economy; however, the home and colonial governments failed to agree on the railroad enterprises.⁴⁰ The imperial authorities apparently hoped that such lines would not only open a door to the hinterland, but also provide employment for the British population which had in the past been accommodated by United States railroad expansion. Thus, railways and land companies served as joint and complementary media for emigration promotion.

During the fifties diverse railway-emigration projects were presented in pamphlets, magazine articles, and before lecture audiences. D. S. Brown believed that steamships would soon reduce the Atlantic crossing to a forty-eight-hour voyage, while the completion of American railroads would allow English migrants to proceed rapidly on into the interior. As Britons flowed across the Atlantic in ever-increasing numbers, salaries and working conditions at home were to improve and eventually equal those enjoyed by American employees. A mobile English-speaking labour force was to develop on an international and intercontinental scale.⁴¹

Although British North American railway enthusiasts were less visionary than Brown, they were no less ambitious. They cautioned that only a transcontinental ribbon of iron could tie the scattered settlements on Vancouver Island, in British Columbia, and in the Red River Valley to the east, and create a counterpoise to American expansion. After the gold discoveries of 1856, imperialists predicted that a Pacific railroad, plus a large emigration, were absolute 'musts' if British Columbia were to be saved from absorption by the young

gargantua to the south.⁴² Closer contact with Asia, Australia, New Zealand, and the Sandwich Islands was observed as incidental assets to the plan.⁴³ The line was deemed a necessity in order to advance certain fields of British trade. China, Japan, and Korea were to be linked commercially to Canada, and thereby to Britain by the life-line of steam and steel. Of the railway promoters perhaps none developed a more quixotic scheme than F. A. Wilson and A. B. Richards. They visualized a transcontinental line which would employ 2,000 convicts for every 400 miles of track; furnish emigration opportunities to 60,000 pauper labourers who would locate along the route; offer engineers and other trained personnel settlement opportunities at repair centres; and finally create a great rail and shipping terminal at the mouth of the Fraser River.⁴⁴ The empire builders, with the exception of maritime groups who feared shipping losses, generally supported the Atlantic to Pacific railway proposals, but the Manchester men and others subscribing to *laissez-faire* principles viewed the proposals as too closely allied with the advocacy of empire and governmental control to merit their consideration.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, engineers engaged in constructing the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and similar large projects frequently sent agents to Britain to secure both skilled and unskilled workers. After mid-century, British labour was recruited for the Saint Mary's Ship Canal, by Texas building contractors, and occasionally for railroad and mining companies. However, with the coming of the era of the land-grant railroad in 1850, it was the disposal of lands more than the procurement of a labour force that led most railroads to promote emigration. True, the Irish and German groups were still in demand for construction work, but the English, Scots, and Welsh generally were deemed to be of greater worth as sturdy agriculturists. For the first decade, after being granted a large tract of the public domain, the land department of Midwest railways was of more importance than the transportation department. Obviously the proper disposition of the lands through which the road was constructed to a large extent determined the future success of the company.

While several federal grants were made during the fifties, it was not until after the Civil War that most railways became aggressive campaigners for British settlers. The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, bridging northern Missouri from the Mississippi to the

Missouri Rivers, was granted 600,000 acres in 1852; it was 1859, however, before the Hannibal land office issued an attractive sixty-page booklet which pictured northern Missouri as an emigrant's paradise; and although the company sent no special emigrant agent to Britain at that time, the early 1860's saw many English and Welsh taking up company lands in Caldwell, Livingston, and Macon Counties, with Buchanan, Clinton, Clay, Marion, and Shelby Counties receiving a smaller, nevertheless substantial, influx of Britons.⁴⁵ Although the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad, as well as three other Iowa lines, received land subsidies in 1856, it was 1870 before the Burlington opened its very extensive and well-directed campaign to locate Britons in Iowa.⁴⁶

On September 20, 1850, the era of the land grant railroad was inaugurated in the United States. Federal legislation was approved which authorized the construction of a railroad through public domain from the western end of the Illinois and Michigan Canal to Cairo, Illinois, and thence on south to Mobile, Alabama. After much haggling, the Illinois legislature granted a charter in February 1851, and the following month the Illinois Central Railroad Company was formed. Officials of the new organization soon opened negotiations with the Barings, Rothschilds, and other London financial houses, but it was a British firm headed by Deavaux & Company that eventually loaned the new business £1,000,000. Soon other British investors were drawn in; leading members of Parliament like George Moffatt, Sir Joseph Paxton, William Gladstone, and Richard Cobden came to follow anxiously the oscillations of the Illinois Central stocks.⁴⁷ British investors naturally contributed to the favourable publicity on Illinois. Leading business magazines and financial journals encouraged the purchase of stocks and bonds for those with wealth and optimism, and suggested emigration for those with energy and ambition.

Some 2,595,000 acres of Illinois lands were granted to the Illinois Central. By mortgaging part of the territory, funds were secured to start construction work. The sale, and consequent settlement, of much of the grant was necessary, first, to provide interest payments upon the money borrowed, and secondly, to create freight for the road. By 1854 an aggressive selling campaign was under way, and by 1856 substantial sums had been appropriated by the company for an advertising campaign which was to channel and direct Europeans to the fertile prairies.⁴⁸

It should be recalled that throughout the same period, Canadian

land companies, the governments of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Canada, various American state officials, Texas interests, and sundry other groups were canvassing Europe, and especially Great Britain for emigrants. It was against this competition that the Illinois Central pitted itself in the race to capture British brain and brawn. Much of the literature circulated in Britain by the land department was written by a former Ohio supreme court judge, Ebenezer Lane. Lane began his career in railroad speculation in the early forties and after being associated with several Ohio lines, secured holdings in the Illinois Central and moved to Chicago in 1855. Two years later he authored several emigration pamphlets tailored for the English public; and from March 1859 until April 1860 he travelled in Britain and on the continent. While, no doubt, advertising Illinois, Lane's sojourn in Europe seems to have been more for pleasure than for business reasons.⁴⁹

It was the international panic of 1857 which reduced the Illinois Central securities to an all-time low, and so thoroughly aroused the British stockholders and bondholders that they formed into committees and sent numerous delegations to America to investigate the operation of the company. While the British inspectors generally upheld the policies of the management, they did decide that the advertising campaign, which was costing between \$40,000 and \$50,000 annually was too expensive and should be curtailed.⁵⁰ But as the land company's fund for advertising was reduced the railroad's publicity was increased. This seeming inconsistency resulted from the British stockholders' policy of sending agents to America to check on the railroad's progress.

In 1858 James Caird, a leading Scottish authority on agriculture and finance, was employed by the London group to study carefully the company's land policy. Arriving in Illinois late in the summer of 1858, Caird made a most thorough inspection of the line. He had been immediately impressed by the efficient operation of the road, and was completely captivated by the magnificent prairies of the state. Being a Member of Parliament as well as something of a publicist, his lengthy letters, newspaper articles, and pamphlets brought the Illinois Central to the attention of increasing numbers of Britons, Canadians, and Americans. In a letter-pamphlet which was given wide publicity in England, Caird informed George Moffatt, Chairman of the London Committee of the Illinois Central Railway, that the company's lands equalled one-fourteenth part of all England, and were unsurpassed in fertility. The vigorous

Scotsman returned with samples of the Illinois soil which he had analysed by Augustus Voelcker of the Royal Agricultural Society. The professor found the poorest sample to be richer in most basic elements than the soil of one of the best wheat tracts in Scotland, the Carse of Gowrie, near Dundee. After quoting Voelcker's letter on the fertility of the railway's lands, Caird judiciously completed his pamphlet by giving instructions on how to emigrate to Illinois.⁵¹

In his journey to the Midwest in 1858, Caird travelled from New York City north to Montreal, across Upper Canada to Detroit, thence on to Chicago. Therefore, his major work dealt in some detail with the several regions of North America with which he claimed acquaintance. The book which was clearly more audacious than diplomatic came to attract wide notice both for its manner and its marrow. The soil of New York State was pictured as barren beyond measure and very uninviting. The lands of Canada seemed 'cold and poor, held in strips by French Canadians, whose listless gait and lean cattle betoken a poor business'.⁵² Caird's uncomplimentary remarks angered many Canadians. Nor was this irritation assuaged by the writings of Richard Cobden, who visited the prairie state in 1859. However, according to the Canadians, the *coup de Jarnac* came in 1860 when the Illinois Central induced some sixty Canadian literary and business leaders to make an excursion through Illinois. The Queen's New World subjects were enraged by the lack of concern shown for the colonies by British financiers and by the audacity of the Americans. Provincial newspapers rose to the attack, and the protagonists were soon joined in a battle of the presses.⁵³ Canada's own Grand Trunk Railroad, nevertheless, was at the same time working out a profitable arrangement with London investors in the Illinois Central whereby the Canadian line was to carry emigrants across Canada for settlement in the United States.

In 1859 Caird tentatively purchased a large block of Illinois Central lands, and attempted to form a company whose basic purpose would be to dispose of the estates to prosperous British farmers. Although receiving assistance from other Members of Parliament, the project rather quickly collapsed; but the industrious Scotsman speedily altered his plans, and opened a London office for the purpose of advertising the lands of and directing persons to Illinois. In the meantime, the land department of the railway had conceived the unique idea of shipping fine cattle from Illinois to Britain to be exhibited at agricultural fairs throughout the country.⁵⁴ But with

the coming of the Civil War, both American and British efforts to stimulate departurers were curtailed, and throughout most of the war only the articles, reports, and financial statements of the British investors remained as publicity items for the lands of the Illinois Central Railroad.

TEXAS AND THE EMIGRATION BUSINESS

Occasionally Midwestern land speculators, especially those with political stature, decided to represent themselves in England. During 1836-37, Daniel Webster acquired, with borrowed money, extensive holdings in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Illinois. As a result of the panic of the late thirties, he found himself in most difficult financial straits, and in 1839 resolved to visit England, where he hoped to find buyers for his western estates. His interests in land were evidenced by the fact that the only speech made during his English tour was at an agricultural dinner given at Queen's College, Oxford. After spending several months contacting many of the most important people in the country, in October 1839 he reluctantly decided to return to America. Webster found the British so completely disinterested in foreign property that he despondently wrote on October 16, 'I do not suppose anything American could have been sold'.⁵⁵

Webster had purchased part of his western estates from a debonaire gentleman whose acumen in business could perhaps be compared favourably with Webster's persuasiveness in politics. When the senator and his party had taken a trip to the Midwest during the summer of 1837, Colonel H. L. Kinney met them at Peru, Illinois, escorted them to Chicago, gave Webster a carriage and pair of cream-coloured horses, and finally proposed marriage to his daughter. In the latter instance, Kinney failed, but it was one of his few failures. Within a dozen years, the colonel had purchased extensive Texas estates; founded the city of Corpus Christi; and by mid-century his *hommes d'affaires* were publicizing the 'Naples of the Gulf' and the 'Italy of America' in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and on the Isle of Wight.⁵⁶

Kinney was only one of a diverse company of promoters who proclaimed Texas the 'territory royal' throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom. The efforts of Arthur Wavell and Benjamin Milam to locate Britons on their empresario grant in Mexican-held Texas; the promotional work of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company; and the 1842 attempts by Jonathan and

Arthur Ikin to dispatch north-country farmers to Texas have been discussed in connection with agriculture settlement. The Ikins, however, as Threadneedle Street financiers, were unquestionably more interested in emigration as a business speculation than as a human venture.

As early as 1839 Arthur Ikin had acquired worthless Texas land script which he sold to Englishmen, and thereby induced a party of his countrymen to go to the new republic only to find that they had been swindled. Throughout the same period, Ikin was working closely with the Texas officials in London. General James Hamilton had been sent to Britain in December 1839 for the purpose of negotiating Texas recognition, disposing of Texas bonds, and selling Texas lands. He and another Lone Star land commissioner, A. T. Burnley, directed the operations of the Texas Land Company located at Exeter Street, Strand. However, because of their more pressing political activities and concurrent negotiations on the continent, Ikin became the chief land salesman and leading emigration advocate for Texas. Both he and Hamilton assumed that the recognition of Texas by Great Britain would greatly increase the sale of land script, and thereby insure a large emigration. Although Hamilton accomplished his major political objective, Texas recognition, the economic objective, land sales and mass emigration, did not follow.

In May 1842 the Texas Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, George McIntosh, received from his home government land script on 9,600 acres of land, but finding few buyers in France, he asked Ikin to dispose of it in London. McIntosh was explicit in advising that the script must be sold, or he would be forced to call upon his home government for funds to meet his current expenses. But similar financial embarrassment had already been experienced by the Texas representatives in London. The previous November, Hamilton's efforts at land sales had failed, and apparently Ikin enjoyed no more success in the renewed attempt to hawk Texas script than had Hamilton or McIntosh.⁵⁷

In February 1845 Charles Elliot, British Chargé d'Affaires to the republic, advised Lord Aberdeen that the Texas Trading, Mining, and Emigration Company which had been dormant since its founding in January 1841 was, under the leadership of General Duff Green, endeavouring to bestir itself. He further explained that the company planned to operate in London through Jonathan and Arthur Ikin who were also part of the corporate body. According

to Elliot, only loss and misery could accrue to emigrants sent out as a result of the company's speculation. Perhaps the British official's anxiety over the welfare of his countrymen was unnecessary since during the half-decade following 1843 virtually no Britons sailed for Texas. Conditions on both sides of the Atlantic were unfavourable to such an emigration. During late 1843, after a depression of over five years, prosperity suddenly returned to most occupational groups within the kingdom, and by the time of the agricultural hardships of 1846, the New World had become engaged in the Mexican War.⁵⁸

Although few foreigners were involved in as many schemes to foster emigration to Texas as Arthur Ikin, he was merely one of several Englishmen who during the years of the republic brought Texas before the British public. In the same year that Ikin issued his laudatory, and according to some 'presumptuous', tract on Texas, William Kennedy also published a most flattering account of the new nation beyond the Sabine.⁵⁹ Kennedy had been a secretary to the Earl of Durham on the latter's memorable mission to Canada, and after Durham's recall travelled in the United States, and thereafter drifted into the Southwest where he lived for a few months. Returning to England in late 1839, he quickly completed a two-volume work which showed him to be a champion of southwestern life and a forceful advocate of Texas emigration.

In March 1842 Kennedy became Texas Consul-General in Great Britain, and later the same year was appointed British Consul to Galveston, a post which he retained until 1847. Before receiving his official appointment, Kennedy, with William Pringle and a few other associates, had secured a colonization grant upon which they were to settle 600 families. But Kennedy, after assignment to the Texas post, transferred the concession to his associates; he was a miscellaneous writer, poet, traveller, and governmental official, but not a land speculator.⁶⁰ And although he continued to represent certain groups devoted to English emigration, there can be little doubt but what he placed his office above personal gain, and after 1842 only indirectly fostered Texas settlement.

As an official, Kennedy became not only neutral on the subject of emigration, but even discouraged specific groups when they were ill-prepared for the journey. In the summer of 1842, just before taking his new post at Galveston, Kennedy visited his old home in Ayrshire, and while there was approached by several parties of unemployed artisans who were anxious to emigrate. Also, the

Engineers' Association of Glasgow had proposed to purchase lands in the young republic, and send out at least part of their 400 unemployed workmen. Kennedy frankly advised all such parties of tradesmen to defer emigration until the Southwest was developed further. Later, in one of his many letters to the Foreign Office on the subject of emigration, he warned against the fraudulent land salesmen who circulated throughout the British Isles, and explained that 'considerable numbers' of immigrants had come to Texas in 1840, 1841, and 1842 only to find that the land titles they had purchased from itinerant agents were invalid.⁶¹

The pro-Texas works of Kennedy, Ikin, and other prominent Englishmen holding official or semi-official positions with the British or Texas Governments were circulated, reviewed, quoted, and requoted throughout the 1840's. Land and emigration agencies were most eager to keep leaflets and pamphlets auspicious to their enterprises before the public.⁶² Occasionally, brokers like the Robins' agency at Piazza Street, Covent Garden, or the Tietkens' agency at 9 Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, wrote and advertised only for agriculturists, and even went so far as to warn tradesmen not to leave England. But most Texas-inspired literature was of a general nature, and encouraged ambitious persons of all occupations to consider the opportunities afforded by the virgin land of a territory larger than most European countries.⁶³

During republic days commercial and colonial interests quickly recognized the trading and diplomatic advantages inherent in Texas' geographical location. In attempting to develop a new producer of raw cotton or to create a political counterweight to America's growing prestige, they were on occasion led to encourage settlement in the young nation. After the republic was recognized by Britain in November 1840, a more novel type of pro-Texas emigration literature began to appear. *The Colonial Magazine* explicitly set forth the new philosophy by which emigration was to result in the abolition of slavery.

We write upon the presumption, which we believe to be true, that the people of Texas look upon slavery as an evil which it is desirable to rid themselves of, and which the want of sufficient white labour alone prevents them from abolishing.

Therefore, the Texas congress should fix a high minimum price on all public lands and 'expend a portion of that fund in procuring emigrants from Europe, and so get rid of slavery'.⁶⁴

Before the revolution the Mexican procedure for peopling the

vast reaches of Texas was through empresario contracts. The task of introducing immigrants was farmed out to prominent, or more often ambitious, men who agreed to import a certain number of settlers, and in return they were to receive a portion of the original grant or be awarded additional lands. The empresario system was discarded by the provisional Texas Government during the early stages of the revolution although officials later recognized grants and orders of survey made while the area was under Mexican control. Naturally, many of the earlier empresario contracts had not been acted upon at the time of the revolution, and others were only partially fulfilled. These were, therefore, processed by the courts or acted upon by the congress of the republic. Considerable confusion of claims and overlapping of land titles were inevitable. With the restoration of peaceful pursuits after the war, Texas decided to adopt the land policy of the United States rather than continue the system employed by Mexico. The granting of large estates to middlemen, theoretically capable of promoting immigration, was to be replaced by a system wherein settlers could buy small tracts of land directly from the government.

Territory was the one commodity Texas had in abundance. That fact, coupled with the new republic's extreme shortage of specie and other readily available capital, led to the substitution of land for currency. The granting of bonuses and the discharging of other obligations to both soldiers and civilians could be achieved only through gifts of land. First, soldiers of the revolution, later their heirs, and finally, all heads of families living in Texas at the time of the declaration of independence were to receive land grants. Eventually, after much confused legislation, persons who made Texas their home prior to January 1, 1842, were also to receive free estates. Obviously, the contemporary American system by which land was sold directly to the settler at a nominal fee was not rigidly carried out. Nor did it prove successful where employed; Texas' lands were forced to compete with those of the American states. With few buyers, and with the continued demand for immigrants, the government on February 4, 1841, reverted to the empresario system, and made agreements with persons claiming the ability to import settlers.

Before the war for independence, several English gentlemen had secured contracts from the Mexican state of Coahuila-Texas authorizing the introduction of immigrants. The confusion of the mid-thirties, of course, frustrated most settlement activity; but by

the early forties, the British *Chargé d'Affaires* in Texas was repeatedly called upon to perform his legal duty—that of interceding for his countrymen in their efforts to retain and reclaim their colonization privileges. Most of the claimants had done little by way of stimulating emigration from Britain, and had very rarely located families or improved their estates as required by their contracts. In 1839 James Ogilvy, as an assignee of the Scottish heirs of James Grant and Manuel Bangs, sought confirmation of his *empresario* privileges over a large tract of territory near the Rio Grande, and in 1843 the British *Chargé d'Affaires* lodged claims for Messrs. Cotesworth, Prior, O'Gorman, and Egerton, as well as for another Englishman, John Charles Beales. The Beales petition reopened a rather involved controversy.

During the early thirties Beales had received three *empresario* contracts covering lands extending over a wide area although centring mainly in north-east Texas. But no settlers were taken out, and much of the territory was later colonized by Benjamin Milam and his associate, R. M. Williamson. Beales later transferred his rights to New York and London speculators who, during the early forties, formed the Colorado and Red River Land Company and the New Arkansas and Texas Land Company. Ostensibly planned to populate and develop the territory, the London speculators solicited Foreign Office assistance to secure a favourable disposition of their claims. They used the commonly expressed, though somewhat overworked, argument that mass British colonization in Texas would render Manchester industrialists independent of American cotton. High British officials, however, remained unmoved, and it was not difficult for the Texas Government to demonstrate to the British *Chargé d'Affaires* that Beales had lost all claim to the lands through his failure to meet the original terms of the contract.⁶⁵

Perhaps it was the influence of Frenchmen rather than Englishmen which led the fifth congress of Texas to reintroduce the *empresario* system by an Act of February 4, 1841. After passing the measure, the congress debated at length whether it was advisable to accept the scheme of Alphonso de Saligny, the French *Chargé d'Affaires* in Texas, and grant three million acres to a French company which would in turn settle 8,000 soldiers and colonists on the Texas frontier. Indicating the government's pressing desire for immigrants, the bill passed the lower house, but ultimately failed at senate ratification. The English were also active; one of the first

contracts made by the government under the new February law was to a body of twenty petitioners, the majority of whom were Englishmen. The group was headed by William S. Peters, a long-time resident, but not citizen of the United States. Three of Peters' sons and a son-in-law were other Americans associated in the enterprise. At least one of the sons, W. C. Peters, had been born at Woodbury, Devonshire, and indeed the elder Peters had spent some time in England as recently as 1837.⁶⁶ Eleven of the twenty original petitioners, exclusive of the Peters family, seem to have been from Great Britain.

The first grant made by the republic to the Peters group consisted of a rectangular block of land extending south from the Red River into present-day Cooke, Denton, Grayson, and Collin Counties. The contract stipulated that 600 families were to be located in the area within three years. In November 1841 a second agreement was signed which extended the boundary of the colony southward into present-day Tarrant, Dallas, Ellis, and Johnson Counties, and arranged for the introduction of 200 more families. In July 1842 the contract was again amended with a strip of land ten miles wide added to the grant on the west, and a similar tract twelve miles wide added along the eastern boundary. The three-year time limit for bringing in colonists was to date from the signing of the third contract.

Throughout the first year the English branch of the associates remained completely inactive, while, in an effort to develop the estates, the American interests organized the Texas Agricultural, Commercial, and Manufacturing Company with headquarters at Louisville, Kentucky. During the summer of 1842 most of the English grantees transferred their rights to a second body of gentlemen, some of whom were English and some American. Thomas Mawe, Martin Stukely, and Edward Tuke were financially affluent Londoners. The nationality of D. J. Carroll, agent for the new group and a frequent visitor to Texas, is uncertain, but he perhaps was a fourth Englishman associated with the enterprise. The new British arm of the organization also included two Americans. Sherman Converse, a book publisher from New York City, was, along with Carroll, the activating force for the London investors. Charles Fenton Mercer, soon to become the dominant figure in Texas speculation, was the second American connected with the English group.⁶⁷

On October 3, 1842, Converse left London bearing a letter of

introduction from Ashbel Smith, the Texas Chargé d'Affaires to Great Britain, and carrying official papers which he was to deliver to Texas authorities. Smith characterized the new English group as gentlemen 'of great wealth and respectability', and persons who would efficiently and faithfully perform whatever they undertook.⁶⁸ By November Converse had arrived in Louisville. No tyro in the game of speculation, he inveigled the American arm of the company to endorse a proposition whereby he would personally superintend the immigration of several thousand British to the association's estates. Travelling on to Texas in December, Converse, clearly a man of unusual charm and persuasive ability, had, by January 16, 1843, induced the congress to pass by joint resolution a bill which permitted the president to extend the boundaries of the third Peters' grant of July 1842. On the north the enlarged block of territory fronted the Red River for 164 miles; and reaching south from the river some 100 miles, it included upwards of 16,000 square miles of territory. The time limit for meeting the terms of the contract was changed from the usual three, to five years, and was to date from July 1, 1843.

The unmitigated presumptuousness of Converse, and the unbelievable naïveté of the Texas officials, was pointed up by a bizarre statement in the contract which explained that the grantees would limit themselves to the introduction of not more than 10,000 families.⁶⁹ After his glowing success, Converse and Carroll, who seems to have joined him in Texas, hastened back to England, organized the Texas Emigration and Land Company with headquarters at 4 New Bridge Street, Blackfriars, and began a most elaborate campaign to secure emigrants.

The customary newspaper advertisements were supplemented by a pamphlet which sold for 6*d.*, and with little effort at modesty, accented the advantages offered by the new company. An agent was to meet the migrating parties at New Orleans or Galveston, and accompany them or arrange for their transportation to north Texas; all emigrant families as well as single men were to find comfortable homes upon their arrival; the company commissioner would provide the settlers with all necessities until they were located; and after an estate had been selected, the commissioner would deliver to the settlers the deed to the land they had purchased and attend to their wants until they had grown their first crop. A gift of 1,280 acres would be made to each 100 families for religious and educational purposes. Farms were to range in size from 160 acres for

families not exceeding four members to 240 acres for families with eight or more members. The total expense to the emigrant for all services, including transportation, company-built house, support until the first crop could be harvested, and deed to the land, was £50 per adult and £12 additional for each child. Settlers, of course, were required to live on the estates for at least three years and fence and cultivate not less than fifteen acres of their holdings.

Letters attesting to the sound and reputable nature of the enterprise were incorporated into the Converse booklet. One of the more poignant themes, lucidly brought out by a Texan writing to a friend at Brighton, emphasized that if the plans of the Texas Emigration and Land Company were consummated 'a young England' would be planted in Texas. Authentication of all land certificates by the Texas consul in London was offered as proof positive that the company was a *bona fide* land agent. Although not dated, the Converse pamphlet was issued during the summer of 1843, and optimistically explained that the first party of emigrants would sail for Texas the following November.⁷⁰

In October Ashbel Smith, Texas Chargé d'Affaires to France, echoed the first note of discord to the Converse programme. In writing his home government, Smith suggested:

The English concession situated on Red River will, I fear, prove a failure. The parties are persons of respectability and possessed of adequate means; but some misunderstanding has arisen between them as well as some dissatisfaction with their agent which threatens to arrest their enterprise.⁷¹

During the following months, the elaborate plans of Converse completely collapsed. By January 1844 Thomas Mowe, one of the wealthy Englishmen involved in the enterprise and a personal friend of Smith, requested that the Texas official use his influence to obtain an extension in the time limit for the introduction of British emigrants.⁷² In the meantime, however, a mixture of chicanery, duplicity, and suspicion from within had all but broken up the association. Converse had shown himself to be an agent of dubious reliability; the Louisville members, convinced that Converse and his English friends were attempting to delude them, had reorganized the Texas Agricultural, Commercial, and Manufacturing Company; and Charles Fenton Mercer had gone to Texas to bargain for individual gain.⁷³

Mercer's Texas mission, from the personal standpoint, was to prove timely and profitable. On January 29, 1844, President Houston vetoed a bill passed by the Texas congress to discontinue

empresario contracts, and on the same day granted Charles Fenton Mercer a block of land just west of the original Peters tract and overlaying much of the same lands that had only the year before been granted to Converse. The following day, January 30, 1844, the Texas congress passed the bill over Houston's veto, and thus suspended the president's power to make further colonization contracts.

Two distinctive and completely separate organizations, therefore, had grown out of the original Peters grant. One, the Mercer colony which was made possible by Houston's legal trick of January 29, 1844, and two, the Peters colony which now consisted of lands granted by the republic to the original petitioners in August and November 1841 and in July 1842, but not that secured by Converse in January of 1843. After the developments of January 1844, the London arm of the company dissolved. The 'wealthy and respectable' Englishmen were all too ready to disassociate themselves from the entire affair. Converse, after his twelve resplendent months of activity, dropped back into the oblivion from which he had risen, and Carroll sold his interests in the Peters' association to a firm of land speculators in New York City, the Swartwout brothers.

The Peters colony did some further advertising in Great Britain, but apparently no agents were sent out, nor was extensive promotional work again undertaken. By 1848 only 2.3 per cent of the colony's inhabitants were European, and the majority of those like the English-born Henry O. Hedgcoxe, colonial agent for the association, had previously lived in the United States.⁷⁴ The flood of migrants drifting across the Red and Sabine Rivers enabled the Peters' group to fulfil their contract and later even acquired a gift of bonus lands.

Clearly, Mercer's enterprise was far less fortunate. The Texas Association organized by him was beset from the first with manifold problems. Many of the local citizenry, as well as the congress, were suspicious of his motives and hostile to his speculative projects. His grant was found to overlap that of the Peters colony, and the settlers he introduced almost immediately became antagonistic. After constant confusion and litigation, the courts, on October 25, 1848, declared Mercer's contract, because of his failure to carry out its basic provisions, void. The extent and success of Mercer's European promotional activities are difficult to assess. British groups interested in emigration were acquainted with his estates, and since he made at least four trips to England, he presumably had contact with

influential persons. But it is impossible to determine whether parties and individuals going to north Texas before mid-century had been influenced by the advertisement of the Peters, the Mercer, or other Texas promoters.

BUSINESS OPPOSITION TO EMIGRATION

While every major immigration region of North America incited censorious comments from British observers, it was Texas that provoked the most implacable hostility. Appearing in the early forties, the first pronounced anti-Texas works severely indicted gentlemen like Arthur Ikin and his friends James Hamilton and A. T. Burnley of the Texas Land Company. Doran Maillard contended that the Texas officials had quite deliberately and unjustifiably used the British Government's recognition of Texas' political independence to mislead Britons into believing that their government sanctioned the economic policies of the land and emigration agents. Although Maillard's comments contained some facts, they were bitterly biased, but since he had been a short-time resident of the young republic, they were given special attention by many of the United Kingdom journals.

In an effort to improve his health, Maillard had sailed for the American Southwest in November 1839. He, during a six months stay in Texas, did some newspaper work and temporarily pursued a legal career; both with little success. After returning to England, he gave vent to his disappointment and outlet to his third-rate literary talents by castigating all things Texan. The rather unscrupulous manipulations of Hamilton and, to a lesser degree, of Ikin tended to give credence to his prediction that only 'ruin and wretchedness' could befall anyone going to the republic.⁷⁵ Maillard's *History of the Republic of Texas* went through several editions and during 1841 and 1842 received laudatory reviews from many critics who shared his prejudices. *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* made several glowing appraisals of the book, while *The New Monthly Magazine* and *The Literary Gazette* were among other journals which favourably referred to it. Even a condensed version of the work, selling for 2s. 6d., was published as a pocket companion.

At approximately the same time a 1s. pamphlet issued by a Mexican merchant and entitled *Texas and Mexico*, and a booklet written by Richard Hartnel, a correspondent for *The Times*, called *Texas and California*, further warned against settlement in the Gulf

plains or on the rolling prairies.⁷⁶ Local societies like the Emigration Protection and Intelligence Office of London, whose avowed purpose it was to inform, but which many times surreptitiously directed and outfitted prospective emigrants, were also brought under galling criticism.

During the spring and summer of 1842 *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Advocate* ran a series of advertisements especially patterned to quell the Texas movement. One article, advantageously displayed on the first page of the newspaper, was entitled 'EMIGRATION TEXAS. CAUTION.' The author, with a constant flow of invective and abuse, revealed his impressions of Texas life.

The writer of this CAUTION TO THE PUBLIC is one of three survivors out of ninety-seven Englishmen who were induced to emigrate to the inhospitable swamps called Texas, in 1841. To detail the misery and hardships that the present writer and his deluded associates were exposed to on their arrival in the country, and the CERTAIN SICKNESS IF NOT DEATH that awaits those who may be tempted to emigrate to that land of fevers and disease of all kinds, would be quite impossible within the limits of this caution; which is meant simply to warn the working classes against the manifold schemes now put forth by a base set of YANKEE TEXAS LAND SHARKS, to delude them.⁷⁷

Whereas Maillard had been one of the most bitter foes of Texas settlement in the early forties, it was the able, but debauched and half-crazed mind of Charles Hooton that produced the most chimerical and fanciful Texas stories during the middle and later forties. After trying newspaper work in both Leeds and London, Hooton turned to playwriting, and when that proved unrewarding he, in the early 1840's, emigrated to Texas. No longer restrained by the stable English society, Hooton's conduct allowed him to degenerate into a crude and dissolute, if not savage, man. But within a year he moved to New Orleans, and later worked and wandered throughout much of the United States and Canada; he returned to England some three or four years later. Although suffering from both physical and mental afflictions partially the results of his American escapades, Hooton, nevertheless, wrote feverishly in an effort to set forth his New World experiences. He died of an overdose of morphia in February 1847, and perhaps because of his death his works carried an unusual emotional appeal.⁷⁸ Excerpts were widely reprinted and often uncritically reviewed. A single leading journal carried four different articles on his *Rides, Rambles, and Sketches in Texas*.⁷⁹

According to Hooton's story, he had emigrated to Texas with a party of thirty men, all of whom within a year's time met with

economic and physical ruin. While the reasons for such total failure were, Hooton believed, obvious, nevertheless he devoted the last months of his life to a recapitulation of the horrors that to him were Texas. Hooton's purpose was 'to warn or, if possible, to terrify' his 'fellow-countrymen from attempting the insane project of dropping themselves down, as it were from the clouds, into the heart of a burning wild, however luxuriant, amidst lurking savages, reckless and unprincipled outcasts of civilization, and fell disease, more frightful and deadly even than these'.⁸⁰

Nor were the inhospitable forests of British North America and the speeded-up machines in American factories overlooked by the opposition, while truly alarming facts could be produced on the dangers of the Atlantic crossing. In 1834 seventeen ships bound for Quebec had been wrecked with a consequent loss of 731 lives.⁸¹ In 1842 the *William Brown* was destroyed on an iceberg; in 1849 the *Ocean Monarch* and the *Caleb Grimshaw* burned at sea; and in 1854 the *City of Glasgow* disappeared in mid-Atlantic. The discomfort and unsanitary conditions in the steerage and the exposure to smallpox, typhus, cholera, ship fever, and other diseases gave further reason for remaining at home.⁸²

But perhaps the most deep-seated antagonism to emigration promotion came from still another quarter. In fundamental opposition to paternalism, colonialism, and commercialism stood Manchesterism with its typical attitude of *laissez-faire*. While not all members of the Manchester school were in complete agreement, in the main they held that emigration was a personal problem, and believed the movement should not be encouraged or directed by society in general or by the government in particular. Judging from the quantity of printed material, the groups favouring emigration were considerably more active than those opposing it until the fifties when improved economic conditions decreased the demands for emigration aid and allowed the 'hands off' idea to predominate.

Even before the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, a fairly large and quite vocal element in England had proposed autonomy for most of British North America. They were often less interested in independence for the colonials than in freeing Britain from the energy and expense attendant to a colonial empire.⁸³ Holders of the 'forget Canada' philosophy suggested that the colony added little to the wealth and commerce of 'Mother Britain'. To them the language, climate, proximity, and ease of land acquisition made the United States the more attractive for Britons.⁸⁴ Even the strong

Canadian proponent, John Roebuck, declared the progress of a country to be precisely in proportion to the freedom allowed and exercised by private citizens. Therefore, Britain should advertise the attractions of Canada, but leave emigration to individual enterprise.⁸⁵ In the opinion of the classical economists, the application of the hard discipline of necessity made each individual emigrant a better person, consequently more likely to succeed. Others went further and argued that Britain did not thoroughly appreciate the great value of the United States which not only absorbed surplus British labour, but by close juxtaposition to Canada formed an outlet for the latter's unemployed immigrants.

Herman Merivale, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1847 to 1859, believed the empire waste lands of less value for the relief of surplus population than the city of New York.⁸⁶ The 'foreign trade, not colonial aid' adherents were astonishingly candid during and after the 1846 Oregon crisis, when they avowed that war with the United States was unthinkable since Englishmen would die for want of corn and cotton, and revolution would be brought imminently near. 'And the gasping emigrants who leave her [Britain's] thronged and naked hungry shores in eager haste to seek for bread, where could they have sought an asylum?'⁸⁷

Members of the Whig Party, who had formerly been associated with Bentham or the Radical Party of the 1830's, agreed only in part with the *laissez-faire* attitude towards emigration. Until his death in 1848, Charles Buller, a Radical, turned liberal Whig, was recognized as the Parliamentary leader for the Wakefieldians. Buller agreed with the *laissez-faire* branch of his party in supporting a policy of freedom and self-direction for the colonies, but he did it not for the purpose of abandoning them, but rather to make happy and prosperous communities firmly attached to the British Empire. To accomplish this, the Radicals desired a systematic plan of emigration fostered by the home, and in co-operation with the colonial, governments. The Buller-Wakefield ideas on land and emigration were applied in parts of Australia, but were never employed in British North America. However, the notion of responsible government and the creation of an emigration office within the colonial department were Wakefieldian concepts which did achieve realization.

At times emigration and colonial problems seemed to place the Buller group more in the Tory camp than in the *laissez-faire* branch of the Whig Party. And occasionally attempts were made to sell

the Tories on the Buller views of enlightened governmental interference. It is conceivable that the Radicals might have created a precedent for Joseph Chamberlain and the Liberal Unionists had not more fundamental issues arose to hold them within the Whig Party. The Wakefieldian journal, *The Spectator*, criticized the Tories for not adopting the Wakefield emigration programme, and thereby greatly strengthen their party. 'It is most surprising that they should not perceive the advantages which they might gain as a party, by correcting the blunders and follies of the Whigs in the matter of colonization.'⁸⁸

The Spectator pointed out to the Tories that Buller and his followers, as well as they, were for 'ships, colonies, and commerce', and that the new and energetic methods were the best means to accomplish the ends both desired. They protested to the Tories that responsible government and systematic emigration, rather than the traditional confused and inefficient, political domination which had resulted in limited emigration and retarded colonial progress, were the proper means towards building a fruitful and permanent empire.

The *rapprochement* between the Wakefieldians and the Tories might have been affected on emigration issues had it not been for the human peccadillos of the Radicals, and had not the Corn Law controversy intervened. When the Buller group lined up with the anti-Corn Law forces, they alienated any assistance they might have received from the landed Tories.⁸⁹ Having failed in his effort to gain Tory approval, Buller turned to an opposite quarter for support. He struggled to make systematic emigration an additional feature to that of Corn Law repeal, and thereby gain for his measures endorsement by an active organization. But in the endeavour he failed completely. His widely circulated address delivered before Parliament in April 1843, in which he brilliantly reasoned the value of enlightened governmental participation in colonial settlement, received kinder handling by the Tories than by his own Manchester friends. The latter declared that if the Corn Laws were abolished, people would no longer need to leave Britain.⁹⁰

Nor did the Manchester men limit their anti-emigration sentiment to the floor of Parliament; rather they made it part of their broad propaganda policy. Like most doctrinaires, they thought theirs to be the only solution to Britain's problems; therefore, any organization which championed social improvements that might weaken or nullify their promulgations, was to be silenced. Fearing that proponents of emigration were gaining ground, Lord Kinnaird

wrote to Sidney Smith, Secretary of the Metropolitan Anti-Corn Law Association, as early as December 1841, and suggested the league pay particular attention to exposing the fallacy of emigration:

I hope every exertion will be made to defeat them. . . . The plan proposed is nothing more nor less than a wholesale system of transportation, which I hope will be resisted. Emigration to be really advantageous should be from the agriculture to the manufacturing districts, where with a free trade, a man would obtain a good return for his labour. . . .⁹¹

Direct appeals to the working men to remain in Britain were shortly forthcoming. A series of talks delivered before the Leeds Parliament Reform Association in January 1842 were entitled 'Compensation, not Emigration the One Thing Needful; Justice, not Charity What We Want'. Hamer Stansfeld informed the workers that the English ship of state was in a storm; and that the aristocrats were trying to 'dump them overboard'. However, true Englishmen were not to give up the ship; instead they would, through free trade, sail to every port in the world and secure the necessities of life so that they might live comfortably at home.⁹² In speeches, public print, and cartoons the absurdity of moving people to food instead of bringing food to the people was exploited. One cartoon depicted a cow being dragged upon the sod roof of a cottage to eat the grass because the farmer was too lazy to cut and throw it down to her. Completely devoted to anti-Corn Law publicity, *The Struggle* became an ardent anti-emigration propagandizer. Its first issue accused the 'bread taxers' of abandoning their plan to starve the people because it created too much human clamour. Instead emigration was being adopted as a more efficient method to rid themselves of the poor and starving.⁹³ Letters published in *The Struggle* declared that the miserable conditions prevailing in America were far worse than anything undergone at home.⁹⁴

Journals like *The Colonial Gazette* which advocated emigration but also supported abolition of the Corn Laws, pleaded in vain for the 'repealers' to expedite, not obstruct, the departure of the unemployed. Ultimately, emigration promoters suggested that a national society similar to the Anti-Corn Law League be established. It was to head up and give planned and unified expression to the cause; however, the diverse elements lending support to the emigration movement could never agree on specific objectives.⁹⁵ While complete unanimity of opinion is the rigor mortis of thought, excessive disagreement deals the *coup de grâce* to effective action.

Most manufacturers, fearing a labour shortage and demands for

higher wages concurred with the Anti-Corn Law League's programme and opposed the departure of valuable working men. During the depressed years of the late thirties and forties, however, employers generally gave little notice to the subject. But with the improved economic conditions, yet extremely large exodus of the early fifties, factory owners and operators became alarmed with the loss of manpower. Certain emigrant guides had long cautioned the educated and well trained not to leave home; but by 1850 even *The Colonial and Asiatic Review*, generally an emigration champion, observed that the people leaving Britain were in the vigour of life, and warned that if the self-imposed banishment continued, labour shortages of serious consequences would result.⁹⁶

Other writers were convinced that emigration would lead to 'a dangerous increase in foreign competition against which we shall have to oppose weakened means of production, if not to struggle against a ruinous demand for higher wages at home . . .'.⁹⁷ Occasionally opponents to the mass migration strove to analyse the human displacement. One observer attributed the movement to a psychological fascination or charm; the urge which drove Britons to leave home was said to be analogous to the passion which motivated single persons to marry. It was conceded, nevertheless, that the novelty and stimulus incident to a change of environment generally produced a more enterprising individual.

By mid-1853 emigration and the influx of gold were listed by some employers as the factors which had forced wages up by 40 per cent. Thus the price of manufactured articles was in danger of becoming so high that England would lose her foreign markets, and even her home markets would be swamped by foreign commodities.⁹⁸ Mingling fact with fantasy, *The Westminster Review* assumed that any thinning of the English population would reduce the standard of living. Inasmuch as densely-peopled communities could be provided with the conveniences of civilization easier and cheaper than scanty populations, every departure detracted from the potential luxuries of those remaining at home. *The Review* further argued that man was constantly dissatisfied in his strife for more; hence, a luxury of yesterday was a necessity to-day. In such a world, emigration could not lessen discontent.⁹⁹

A few business interests so exaggerated the dangers of emigration that it was deemed fortunate that Dutch, Italians, Jews, and Poles were immigrating into England, as they could in part offset the displacement caused by the loss of native workers.¹⁰⁰ According to

Alfred Bunn, the loss in population was rapidly assuming serious proportions.

If you go into the mammoth magazines of Regent Street, Ludgate Hill, St. Paul's Churchyard, Cheapside, etc., you will find the counters thinned in attendants, at the very time they are thickened in customers, drafts of shopmen having taken their departure weekly, to cut down forests by wholesale, instead of cutting up ribbons by retail, and to measure out parcels of ground instead of measuring and marking up parcels of gingham. Every one is off in search of the universal divinity, leaving home duty to be done by those who are fools enough to remain behind.¹⁰¹

Certain political economists had long maintained that the power and wealth of a country was in direct proportion to the number of its people and the amount of capital which afforded them employment. Accordingly, when labour was abstracted, capital could not be properly or profitably employed; therefore, the strength and wealth of the country were impaired. That premise combined with the assumption that those leaving were the most energetic segment of the population, led some economists to conclude that the destitution during the latter thirties and through the forties had in part been the direct result of the mass emigration of those years. Nor did they believe that the history of England revealed any proof that emigration had ever solved basic economic or political difficulties.¹⁰²

SUMMATION

The early Victorian business interests viewed emigration with the diversity of opinion characteristic of the period's free and individualistic mien. Commercial houses, shipping companies, outfitters, insurance agents, and railway promoters for reasons of personal profit often promoted emigration. Suffering and unemployed labourers did not provide ready markets for the goods and services produced by most businesses. Paupers were not only poor customers, but they were usually on the public doles or supported by tax levies, poor rates, or charities. Emigration, therefore, appeared to the bourgeoisie to be an enlightened panacea for an otherwise insoluble dilemma. The impetus for such a movement was self-evident. Emigrant outfitting would awaken dormant trades; emigrant travel would stir stagnant shipping; and increased purchasing by prosperous New World settlers would eventually, directly and indirectly, quicken the entire British economy. London bankers and promoters of North American enterprises naturally supported emigration programmes as long as the new and expanding

communities paid inflated interest rates on English loans. The capital invested by British financiers stimulated economic activity and, at least theoretically, created a greater demand for British workers in North America.¹⁰³

Railway companies and Texas speculators viewed Britain not only as a fountain from which valuable human beings flowed, but also as a cistern from which labour and wealth could be drawn. With the passing of the first railroad land grant in 1850, both pedlars of stocks and bonds and salesmen of railway lands converged on Britain. As English investment houses became financially linked with United States railroads, they quite naturally co-operated with their own land agents, and thereby fostered emigration to and settlement on their American property.

It was Texas, however, that drew many of the most doughty and reckless land and emigration representatives, and bore the most vigilant corps of agents and promoters to be found in the British Isles. For magnitude and magnificence of speculative projects, for diversity and flamboyance of salesmanship, and for colourful and controversial opinions, Texas had no peers. But true to her robust historical tradition, the Lone Star Republic/State induced some of the most valiant hopes, valueless schemes, and violent feelings registered during the mid-nineteenth century. With the pursuits of speculation so animating, and the accession of settlers so desirable, the attempt by agents to capitalize on the unprecedented desire for emigration was perhaps unavoidable. Unfortunately, the reckless ambition common to Texas agents and the naïve expectation evident among many British emigrants, rendered the failures and hardships which accompanied Texas settlement all but inevitable.

By mid-century emigration had reached proportions sufficient to force formerly disinterested business groups to become seriously concerned. The relatively rapid return of prosperity in the early fifties and the concurrent growth in industrial production spurred the manufacturers to point up the advantage, indeed the necessity, for Britain to retain her large skilled labour supply. Thereafter, many industries which had exhibited complete apathy to the subject in the forties suddenly became active emigration opponents in the decade following.

Of course, most of the Manchester men consistently frowned on any plan that would deplete the labour supply, and bitterly protested all aid and encouragement given to emigration by the government. Their opposition was first made a public issue during the pre-1846

anti-Corn Law debates. But on the other hand, the small pro-emigration Buller-Wakefield element remained within the free-trade party, and until their disintegration during the 1850's steadfastly championed a large emigration. Their efforts contributed greatly in bringing responsible government to the colonies, but their explicit programme of systematic emigration and colonization fell short of realization. Shippers and outfitters gradually became less interested in the emigrant trade. Consolidation in Atlantic transportation, plus more stringent and better enforced passenger-carrying laws, had markedly reduced the tendency of commercial companies to use passengers as ballast on the outward voyage. And as the Crimean War provided the suppliers of emigrant equipment with a more lucrative market for their wares, they also became less solicitous of the business created by the transport of persons.

Abandonment of emigrant promotion by financially interested groups, the repudiation of the systematic emigration programme, and the growing opposition of certain manufacturers apparently had little restrictive effect upon the outward rush of Britons. Most emigration, like most business, was an individualistic, independently directed enterprise; but differing from business, it was not often entered into by commercialists or industrialists, but rather by the common and industrious.

NOTES

¹ F. A. Wilson and Alfred B. Richards, *Britain Redeemed and Canada Preserved* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1850), p. 41. Strickland, *op. cit.*, II, 313.

Sir Thomas More was assumed to have grasped the emigration principle when he directed any population increase in Utopia to go into a neighbouring country. 'Utopian Emigration', *Chambers' Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Arts*, XXXIII, No. 53 (January 6, 1855), 1-4.

² 'Plain Answers to Plain Questions about Emigration', *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, VIII, No. 190 (August 21, 1847), 120. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (reprint of 1812 ed.; London: Ward, Lock & Co.), Book IV, 444.

³ Eliot Warburton (editor), *Hochelaga: or, England in the New World* (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), I, iv.

⁴ The confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel and the great exodus by Moses and his people also were used to prove that emigration was a divine plan.

⁵ Kingston, *A Lecture on Colonization*, pp. 6-7.

⁶ Matthew, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6.

⁷ *A True Picture of Emigration or Fourteen Years in the Interior of North America* (London: G. Berger, 1848), p. 6.

⁸ John Hill Burton, *Political and Social Economy: Its Practical Application* (Edinburgh: William & Robert Chambers, 1849), p. 335.

⁹ Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (London: Chapman & Hale, 1843), p. 358. Carlyle quoted part of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* as his authority for proposing emigration.

¹⁰ Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1841), I, 110-13.

¹¹ Sir George Cornewall Lewis, *An Essay on the Government of Dependencies*, ed. by C. P. Lucas (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1891), p. 224.

¹² William Bridges, *Freehold Insurance and the Farmers' Estate Society* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1850), p. 19.

¹³ Arthur Scratchley, *Industrial Investment and Emigration* (2nd ed.; London: John W. Parker, 1851).

¹⁴ *The Universal Emigration and Colonization Messenger* (London), No. 5 (September 14, 1850), 8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6. Originally taken from *The Eastern Counties' Herald* of March 7, 1850.

¹⁶ 'Colonization Aided by Life-Assurance', *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, XIII, No. 329 (April 20, 1850), 255.

The publication by the Colonial Life Assurance Company of life expectancy tables, which showed a shorter life span in parts of the United States than in Britain or Canada, were used to dampen the ardour of persons contemplating emigration to many parts of the United States. 'Life Assurance for the Colonist', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XIX (1850), 163-66.

¹⁷ Arthur Redford, *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade*, pp. 225-26.

During 1847-48 the government received several memorials from cotton manufacturers of Manchester and Glasgow and woollen industrialists of Bradford complaining that the local unemployment of operatives was the result of a shortage in raw material much of which came from the United States. They encouraged the government to promote the production of the needed raw materials in the colonies as a means to eliminate unemployment at home. *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Distress, Cotton and Woollen Trade, 1847-1848*, LI (586), 1-9.

¹⁸ *The Bradford Observer* (Bradford), November 25, 1847.

¹⁹ *Remarks on Emigration* (London: R. Clay, Cheapside, 1831), pp. 10-11.

²⁰ Caleb Grimshaw, Enoch Train, Samuel Thompson, W. Tapscott & Company, Messrs. Richardson Brothers, A. & T. Nicholls, and Fitzhugh, Walker & Company, were among the expanding companies which had connections both in England and America. It is interesting to note that many of the Liverpool shipping offices were located on Goree Piazzas which had received its name from an African slave trading post. In the eighteenth century fortunes had been made by carrying blacks to America; in the nineteenth many were made through the carrying of whites.

²¹ John B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1906), VI, 81.

²² *The Times* (London), October 21, 1839, p. 5.

²³ C.O. 384/81; C.O. 384/93. *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Twentieth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, 1860, XXIX* [2696], 20.

Many objections were offered to the Passenger Acts. They could only be imposed on British ships; consequently, poorly equipped foreign ships could charge lower passage rates. Thus, emigration would fall into the hands of foreign ship owners. This would in turn divert emigration from the British colonies to the United States, while at the same time the higher rates necessarily charged by British shippers would seriously impede voluntary emigration. After more stringent Acts were passed, some companies attempted the subterfuge of declaring none of their passengers steerage class; therefore, they were not subject to the law. However, in spite of objections and the confusion caused by personal bickering between the Home and Foreign Offices (see C.O. 384/93), much progress was made in the 1850's towards more adequate emigrant protection.

²⁴ 'Emigration and the Sexes', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, XXV (September 1858), 509. *The Times* (London), January 8, 1852, p. 8; November 24, 1855, p. 10.

²⁵ James Silk Buckingham, *New Plan of National Colonization* (London: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1843), p. 12.

Samuel Laing agreed that the expense of outfitting the emigrants would create employment for many; however, deducing that prosperity would stimulate marriages and cause a higher birth rate, he reasoned that the vacuum formed by emigration would more than be refilled and result in even greater misery. Commercial interests quickly attacked his Malthusian defeatism. 'Emigration Heresies', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XIX (1850), 148-56.

²⁶ S. C. Brees, *A Key to the Colonies or, Advice to the Million upon Emigration* (London: Published at Mr. Brees' Survey Office, Strand, 1851), p. 2.

²⁷ C. H. Baines, *Shall We Keep the Canadas?* (London: J. Hatchard, 1849), pp. 3-25.

²⁸ C. H. Bagot, *The National Importance of Emigration Considered in a Letter Addressed to the Right Honourable Lord Lyttelton* (London: W. S. Johnson & Co., 1863), p. 6.

Following the same pattern, Australia imported at the rate of over £12 per person.

²⁹ 'Get Thee Out of Thy Country', *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, IX, No. 243 (August 26, 1848), 127-31.

³⁰ Alexander Mackay, *The Western World; or Travels in the United States in 1846-47* (London: Richard Bentley, 1849), II, 272-73; III, 80-83.

³¹ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 14 (January 22, 1842), 8.

³² Godley, *An Answer*, p. 57.

³³ 'Emigration of the Poor', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XVI (1849), 382.

Remarks were taken from the contemporary writings of J. S. Mill, phrases lifted from the speeches of Sir Robert Peel, and comments snatched from other important figures to prove that they were coming to support a positive emigration programme. The supplement to J. R. MacCulloch's *Dictionary of Commerce* explained that seventeen emigrant ships bound for Quebec were wrecked in 1834. Such information was generously quoted in an effort to prove that more control and planning of emigration was needed.

³⁴ John James Sturz, *Plan for Securing to British North-America a Larger Share . . . of the Emigration from the United Kingdom as Well as from Germany* (Berlin: C. & F. Unger, 1860), p. 3.

Sturz proposed his scheme to the British Government. On December 9, 1859, in a discussion of the plan, the Emigration Commissioners characterized it as 'altogether impracticable'. C.O. 384/84, North America; January 1857-December 1859.

³⁵ An earlier Sturz pamphlet on emigration had attracted the attention of the Brazilian Government, then encouraging immigration, and led to Sturz's appointment as Brazilian Consulate-General to Prussia. He was relieved of his duties in 1858 because of his refusal to send Germans to Brazil. Sturz indicated that he could influence the destination of thousands of Germans, and if the British would co-operate with him, he could fill the wastes of Canada with sturdy European peasants who would become invaluable settlers for Britain.

³⁶ At a meeting of the proprietors of the British American Land Company held on February 26, 1846, the deputy governor and presiding officer, J. J. Cummins, and several others of the land company directors present were also members of the board of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway. They presented a report showing that the land company had voted £20,000 to promote the building of the railway. One of the railroad depots was to be within ten miles of the land company's estates of nearly 100,000 acres, all of which was for sale. 'Colonial Railway Movements in British America, and New Beauharnois Job', *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, XI (1847), 474-75.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 476. Also, *The Railway Times* (London), May 1846.

³⁸ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Further Papers Relative to Emigration to the British Provinces in North America*, 1847, XXXIX [824], 15-16.

³⁹ *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, XI (1847), 479-83.

⁴⁰ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Projected Railway from Halifax to Quebec*, 1851, XXXVI [1382], 28.

⁴¹ D. S. Brown, *America in 48 Hours, India and Back in a Fortnight* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1852).

⁴² *British Columbia and Vancouver's Island* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1858), p. 59.

⁴³ Charles MacKay, *Life and Liberty in America*, II, 309-13. Thomas C. Haliburton, *An Address on the Present Conditions, Resources and Prospects of British North America* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1857). *Canadian News and British American Intelligencer* (London), February 3, 1858, p. 40.

⁴⁴ Wilson and Richards, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-38.

⁴⁵ Dorothy Eleanor Powell, 'History of the Hanibal and St. Joseph Railroad, 1847-1883' (Unpublished dissertation, University of Missouri, 1942).

⁴⁶ Richard C. Overton, *Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), pp. 357ff.

⁴⁷ Howard Gray Brownson, *History of the Illinois Central Railroad to 1870* (Urbana: Published by the University of Illinois, 1915), pp. 121-22. For a thorough study of the railroad see Paul Gates' work, *The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934).

⁴⁸ For an example of the pamphlet literature see *The Illinois Central Railway: A Historical Sketch of the Undertaking* (London: Printed for circulation by Smith, Elder & Company, 1855).

⁴⁹ A. Newton, *Sketch of the Life and Character of Ebenezer Lane, L.L.D.* (Norwalk, Ohio?: Publisher unknown, 1866).

⁵⁰ *Daily Press and Tribune* (Chicago), December 8, 1858. Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁵¹ James Caird, *Letter on the Lands of the Illinois Central Railway Company* (London: Publisher unknown, 1859).

⁵² James Caird, *Prairie Farming in America, with Notes by the Way on Canada and the United States* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1859), p. 11.

⁵³ Manuscript, 'Cobden's Diary in America'. Caird's *Slanders on Canada Answered and Refuted* (Toronto: Lowell & Gibson, 1859). Also sold by Stanford at Charing Cross, London.

⁵⁴ Gates, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-23.

⁵⁵ Fletcher Webster, *The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1857), II, 71.

Colonel Oakley had little more success in peddling his Illinois lands in 1841.

⁵⁶ Coleman McCampbell, *Saga of a Frontier Seaport* (Dallas: Southwest Press, 1934), pp. 4-15.

⁵⁷ Ashbel Smith, the newly appointed Chargé d'Affaires to Great Britain and France, arrived in London with the land script on May 10, 1842. After the acceptance of his credentials in England, he was to travel on to Paris. But the disposal of the script was thought sufficiently urgent that he dispatched it on to McIntosh. In fact, Anson Jones in March 1842, in informing Smith of his appointment as Chargé d'Affaires to Great Britain, devoted much of the letter to an assessment of the part Smith should play in the promotion of British and continental emigration to Texas. Jones explained the official position: 'Texas has a surplus of land and wants labourers and capital. Europe generally has a redundancy of population and more capital than can now be employed satisfactorily and to a good profit. The purpose, therefore, of these contracts is to bring population and money to Texas.' Ephriam D. Adams (editor), *British Diplomatic Correspondence Concerning the Republic of Texas, 1838-1846* (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1918), pp. 949; 1374-75.

⁵⁸ In September 1844 Kennedy wrote Aberdeen informing him that in the years preceding 1843 several vessels conveying British emigrants had arrived at the Galveston port, but since the first of that year no ship carrying as many as a dozen British families had arrived. *Ibid.*, pp. 356 and 448.

⁵⁹ Arthur Ikin, *Texas, its History, Topography, Agriculture, Commerce . . .* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, & Piper, 1841). William Kennedy, *Texas: The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas* (London: R. Hastings, 1841), Vols. I and II.

For a typical criticism of Ikin's work see *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 1 (October 23, 1841), 3; *The British Farmer's Magazine*, No. 19 (October 1841), 432; *The Monthly Review*, II (June 1841), 158.

Perhaps because of Kennedy's more literary and intellectual appraisal, his book was more favourably reviewed. The popular *Edinburgh Review* praised his impartiality in a lengthy summary and review, but the Scottish journal was known to be generally pro-American and to feel kindly towards the cause of emigration. *The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal*, LXXIII (1841), 241-70.

⁶⁰ The quotation from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* used by Kennedy on the first page of his book was perhaps sufficient to entice persons from Britain's northern latitudes to sunny Texas.

Know'st thou the land where the lemon-tree bloom—
Where the gold orange glows mid' the deep thicket's gloom,
Where a wind, ever soft, from the blue heaven blows,
And the groves are of laurel, and myrtle, and rose?

⁶¹ Adams, *British Diplomatic Correspondence*, p. 93. F.O. 75/10 Texas: Consuls, Kennedy and McDougall. Foreign and Domestic. January-December 1844.

⁶² The works of two ladies were particularly relevant in furnishing the pro-Texas pamphleteers with suitable copy. As early as 1833 the London Geographical Society printed and circulated a series of letters written by Stephen Austin's cousin, the talented and gracious Mary Austin Holley. The remarks, which were little more than an emigrant guide, were intelligently compiled, and presented a cursory, though generally accurate and scientific, picture of Texas. Although not published under the auspices of the Geographical Society, a second book, *Texas. Observations, Historical, Geographical, and Descriptive*, received an equally wide British acceptance.

An Englishwoman's four volumes produced during the 1840's even more than the writings of Mary Holley, expounded on the future and fortune to be found under the Lone Star flag. Appearing in 1844, Matilda Houston's *Texas and the Gulf of Mexico* explicitly urged that

private bodies of prospective emigrants settle in the young republic and criticized the British Government for not conveying 'some thousands of our starving population' to more auspicious shores. The last two volumes, written after Texas had become a state, were somewhat less insistent upon immediate British emigration; however, the later works wove the contemporary history and progress of the new state into a flattering word picture. Texas combined 'the mighty advantages of richness of soil and healthiness of climate', while the general appearance of the prairies was 'that of a fine English park'. Houston, *Hesperos: or Travels in the West* (London: John W. Parker, 1850), II, 112.

⁶³ *To the Emigrant Farmer. A View of the Advantages of . . . Texas* (London: John Hutton, 1848).

⁶⁴ 'Texas', *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, IV (January-April 1841), 111.

⁶⁵ George P. Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, Annual Report of the American Historical Association (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), II, Part III, 1129. Nancy Eagleton, 'The Mercer Colony in Texas, 1844-1883', *The South-western Historical Quarterly*, XL (July 1936), 36.

⁶⁶ The Peters Colony has been effectively discussed by Seymour V. Connor, 'The Peters Colony in North Texas, 1841-1883' (Unpublished thesis, The University of Texas, 1952).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁶⁸ Garrison, *op. cit.*, 1123-24.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1083.

⁷⁰ The Texas Emigration and Land Company, *Emigration to Texas* (London: Published by Richardson, 1843).

⁷¹ Garrison, *op. cit.*, 1473.

⁷² Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁷³ Charles Fenton Mercer was the godson of Bushrod Washington and friend of John Marshall. Educated at Princeton and a member of Congress from Virginia, he was for a time president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. Financially embarrassed, he moved to Tallahassee, Florida, and with the assistance of British financiers opened a bank. Later a close acquaintance, E. C. Cabell, moved to London, and the two became partners in land promotional schemes.

⁷⁴ Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁷⁵ Maillard, *op. cit.*

⁷⁶ The University of Texas Library held the only copy of Hartnel's *Texas and California* to be found in any of the major libraries of Britain or the United States until it was lost about 1950.

⁷⁷ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Advocate* (London), No. 35 (June 18, 1842), 1.

⁷⁸ *D.N.B.*

⁷⁹ 'Rides, Rambles, and Sketches in Texas', *Simmonds Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, VIII (May-August 1846), 39-54, 198-210, 351-65, and 416-28.

⁸⁰ Charles Hooton, *St. Louis' Isle, or Texiana: with Additional Observations Made in the United States and in Canada* (London: Simmonds & Ward, 1847), p. 155.

⁸¹ J. R. McCulloch, *A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical of Commerce and Commercial Navigation* (2nd ed.; London: Longman, Reese, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1839 Supplement).

⁸² Robert Albion, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), pp. 345-46.

⁸³ *What Shall We Do with Canada?* (Leeds: Henry Vincent, 1838). This pamphlet, typical of the *laissez-faire* thought had been taken from a lengthy article published in the *Leeds Mercury*. It proposed that Britain forget Canada.

⁸⁴ J. R. McCulloch, *A Descriptive and Statistical Account of the British Empire* (3rd ed.; London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1847), p. 532.

⁸⁵ John A. Roebuck, *The Colonies of England: A Plan for the Government of Some Portion of Our Colonial Possessions* (London: John W. Parker, West Strand, 1849), p. 102.

⁸⁶ Merivale, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁸⁷ Sarah Mytton Maury, *The Statesman of America in 1846* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1847), pp. 301-02.

⁸⁸ *The Spectator* (London), No. 617 (April 25, 1840).

⁸⁹ Colonel Torrens was one of the few notable exceptions who, while being a Wakefieldian on emigration, did not concur with the Buller group in supporting complete and immediate Corn Law repeal. Such action, he reasoned, unaccompanied by continental and American tariff reductions would work to the financial disadvantage of England. Free trade for the

empire, with a gradual reduction in the tariff on foreign products, would represent greater consideration for the colonies and security for Britain. Replying to Torrens, repealists argued that if free trade was granted to Canada and not the United States, the latter's grain would flow through Canada to Britain, thus dodging the tariff; and as more American grain found such an outlet without duty, the republic would become increasingly prosperous and suck in British emigrants who would otherwise go to the colonies. So much interest in the destination of British emigrants was not generally shown by the *laissez-faire* philosophers.

Another individualist proposing emigration was Thomas Carlyle. Certainly not of the classical school, Carlyle was, nevertheless, disgusted with the lethargy and incompetence of the old colonial party. He was proud of England's achievement in the field of colonization, and at the same time felt that social benefit could be derived for the individual through state action. To him the power of the state and good of the individual could and should be synonymous. Therefore, he gave substantial support to the emigration ideas of his former pupil, Charles Buller. Carlyle differed with Buller on most other economic issues. Thomas Carlyle, *Chartism*, Vol. XVI of *Carlyle's Complete Works* (Boston: Dana Estes & Charles E. Lauriat, 1884), Chap. X. Carlyle, *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, Vol. II of *Carlyle's Complete Works*, Pamphlet No. 4. Carlyle, *Past and Present*, Book IV.

⁹⁰ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LXVIII, 1843, 484-599.

⁹¹ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 12 (January 8, 1842).

Mary Jane Kinnaird, wife of Lord Kinnaird's brother, actively participated in emigration. She was one of the founders of the British Ladies' Female Emigration Society.

⁹² *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 17 (February 12, 1842).

⁹³ *The Struggle*, No. 1 (January 1842). There was some variation in *The Struggle's* policy towards emigration. While generally opposing the movement, periodically it conceded that leaving was about the only relief possible if free trade could not be established.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. 23, 25, 36, 1842. Illinois was often singled out as being especially inhospitable. This was probably done deliberately in an effort to discourage the rather extensive Mormon emigration to that state.

⁹⁵ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 11 (January 1, 1842), 6.

⁹⁶ *The Emigrant's Almanack* (London: John Cassell, 1851), p. 20. *Cassell's Emigrants' Handbook* (London: John Cassell, La Belle Sauvage Yard, 1855), p. 8. *The Colonial and Asiatic Review*, II (1853), 221 and 440.

⁹⁷ 'The Emigration Cry', *Sharpe's London Magazine of Entertainment and Instruction*, New Series, XVI (1852), 354.

⁹⁸ 'Gold and Emigration: In Their Effects Social and Political', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, LXXIV (July 1853), 120-23.

⁹⁹ 'Our Colonial Empire', *The Westminster Review*, New Series, II (October 1852), 398-99.

¹⁰⁰ Hyde Clarke, 'Emigration as Affecting Labour and Prices', *The Bankers' Magazine*, XIII (1853), 732.

¹⁰¹ Alfred Bunn, *Old England and New England* (Philadelphia: A. Hart, 1853), I, 253.

¹⁰² Robert Torrens, *Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Stanley on Colonization* (2nd ed.; London: Trelawney Saunders, 1849), pp. 83-84. Samuel Laing, Jun., *Atlas Prize Essay* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1844), p. 127. Capt. Alexander Maconochie, *Emigration with Advice to Emigrants: Especially Those with Small Capital* (London: John Ollivier, 1848), p. 4.

¹⁰³ Few followed the radical views of Karl Marx who suggested that the English emigrated because they were trying to follow their capital. Having produced it, it was part of them; therefore, emigrants were searching for a part of themselves. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (New York: The Humboldt Publishing Co., n.d.), I, 404.

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNMENT: A POLICY OF ENLIGHTENMENT, LETHARGY, AND *LAISSEZ-FAIRE*

In the quarter-century following Victoria's accession to the throne, the British Government, whether Whig or Tory, seemed reluctant to assist in emigration promotion. Perhaps two developments were particularly responsible for such reticence. First, and undoubtedly recognized, though seldom candidly admitted, was the limited success achieved in earlier attempts at officially assisted emigration, and, secondly, and increasing in popularity from 1830 to 1860, was the potent if somewhat mythical doctrine of *laissez-faire*.¹ Manifestations of the latter trend will be evaluated later in this chapter, but the historical background of governmentally fostered emigration merits special notice. Traditionally, Westminster had only with hesitancy participated in emigration programmes. True, Cromwell had encouraged the establishment of settlements in the West Indies, and a century later 4,000 colonists had been aided to found Halifax, Nova Scotia, the fourteenth American colony, as a counter to the French establishment on Cape Breton Island. However, British activity seldom proceeded beyond the settling of military outposts or the transporting of undesirables, and until after the Napoleonic wars, the government generally refused to give emigration aid.

The Highland Society of Scotland, founded in 1784, became alarmed in the nineties by the extensive Highland exodus, and in 1803, hoping to curb further departures, induced a somewhat unwilling Parliament to pass a strict emigrant passenger Act.² But not all Scottish Highlanders approved of the action. Alexander Macdonell, Chaplain of the Glengarry Fencibles, who were disbanded at Ayr in 1801, had requested that the government assist in the emigration of the men and their families. In 1803, therefore, while Parliament passed the Act to make emigration more difficult, the government paradoxically granted land in Upper Canada to Father Macdonell and the soldiers. Another Scotsman, Lord Selkirk, also received a grant of land in 1803, and accomplished the successful transport of about 800 Highlanders, mostly from the Isle of Skye, to Prince Edward Island.³ A third grant was made to Lieutenant-

Colonel Thomas Talbot, a former member of the official staff in Canada, but it was almost a decade before his settlement in Upper Canada began to prosper.⁴

To strengthen her territory against American attack, Britain, for some years following the Treaty of Ghent, actively promoted military settlements in Canada. Emigrants, after depositing small sums of money as surety, were granted land, furnished with transportation, and provided with an eight-month supply of provisions.⁵ The deposit was returned at the end of two years if the settlers were satisfactorily established in British North America. Since the new policy proved only moderately successful—approximately 2,000 emigrants, mostly Scots, left under the arrangement—the regulation was altered in December 1817. The new system devised by the Colonial Office proclaimed that only persons possessing sufficient capital to engage families to proceed with them and under their guidance should receive land grants. The revised plan proved even less satisfactory; apparently only one English party of about nineteen families from Alston, Cumberland; a Scottish group of some hundred families mostly from Breadalbane, Perthshire; and several Irish families emigrated under the programme.⁶

By 1819 the acute economic distress and grave political outlook led to a flooding of the home and colonial offices with requests for emigration assistance. Public demand, therefore, brought Parliament for the first time in the nineteenth century to approve a grant intended to help settle Britons in the colonies. The Parliamentary allotment of 1819 was used to transport persons to South Africa; however, in 1823 and again in 1825, Peter Robinson of Upper Canada was authorized to send out Irish farmers to lands along the upper St. Lawrence River. Colonists were transplanted free of charge, given twelve months' provisions and some cattle, assisted in erecting houses, and placed on seventy acres of land which was deeded to the occupant upon the payment of a small fee. While reports varied, it rather conclusively was proved that the experiment was a failure; consequently, requests for further Parliamentary assistance were denied.⁷

Even the 1826-27 Select Committee on Emigration was unable to stimulate further governmental or Parliamentary activity in the field, and it was not until the Wakefieldian philosophy became influential with the colonial officials that government emigration again became an issue of debate. One of the first experiments pointing up the new theories was a short-lived project of the early

thirties in which financial help was given to selected emigrants for their move to Australia. The promoters of the project assumed that the revised method of selling lands at a fixed upset price would result in increased income from land purchases. The government, therefore, would in time be reimbursed for any expense it assumed in sending out emigrants. Official help was needed at first merely to prime the pump. Needless to say, the purveyors of the idea were always over-optimistic and often strangely unrealistic.

With the upward surge of private emigration in the early thirties, and the initiation in 1833 of a policy whereby officers would be appointed to supervise the passenger trade at British ports, Parliament, for the first time in 1834, voted funds for a permanent governmental emigration establishment. A further indication of Parliamentary interest in the subject was the incorporation into the 1834 Poor Law Act of a clause, suggested by the Select Committee of 1826-27, which empowered ratepayers to raise, on the security of future assessments, funds to finance the departure of the local poor. The rapid growth and expansion of the new emigration office, coupled with the recommendations of the 1836 Select Committee on Colonial Lands, led to the Colonial Secretary's appointing Thomas Elliot the first Agent-General for Emigration in 1837.

Having already implanted itself in the minds of many, the emigration idea was given an additional impetus by the depression of 1837. Britons were becoming less receptive to the doctrine that poverty, pestilence, and war were the inevitable fate preordained for thousands of human beings. And as the meat of Malthus grew harsh, Englishmen from all classes propounded that the national authorities could mitigate, and even eliminate, much misery and misfortune by financing an emigration programme. When such a policy was not adopted, many assumed that their officials were either stupid or converts to what was termed the insidious concept that made all government lethargic and incompetent: the doctrine of *laissez-faire*.

POPULAR DEMAND FOR ASSISTED EMIGRATION

During the early Victorian years it was widely held that (1) human decency, (2) financial self-interest, (3) political stability, (4) local economy, and (5) imperial necessity made it imperative that the government subsidize an extensive programme.

(1) One of the most vocal groups were the humanitarians.

They declared that a comprehensive plan, including a judicious system for improving the conditions of the lower classes and eradicating pauperism, was the duty of the government. But the authorities should exercise careful scrutiny to make certain that misery was not merely being transported out of sight, or that promoters were sponsoring departures with selfish ends.

Whitehall was condemned for not advancing beyond the elementary concept which held emigration to be a relief measure to the more mature position which saw the movement as a fundamental attack upon basic evils. The officialdom was characterized as impotent; a body which dealt in solemn trifles and dubious sophistries.

Talk to it of emigration, and it shrugs its shoulders, hems and haws, says much, that means nothing, of difficulties in the way, interference with private enterprise, and ends up saying that it can do nothing.⁸

One London journal in January 1842 argued that England did nothing for paupers; therefore, they had no choice but to become thieves and prostitutes. It paternalistically declared that during the previous few weeks fifty men had been taken before the Lord Mayor for stealing bread.⁹

Adjudging it ridiculous for Britain to possess undeveloped land, and yet produce beggars, James S. Buckingham proposed that English counties, the central government, and the colonial authorities work together to transport the needy to British North America. Mill's *Political Economy* was quoted to show that sacredness of private property did not apply to land since it was the original inheritance of the whole species; accordingly, when public exigencies demanded, land should be appropriated for the good of the community. By merely utilizing the soil of North America, British communities would be strengthened, and the poor benefited.¹⁰

More radical humanitarians compared Britain to Hindustan, and accused both Whig and Tory officials of consciously withholding opportunity and happiness from the multiplying millions. They contended that if the authorities were less interested in the depletion of the supply of workers, or the depreciation in the value of land, relief could be easily afforded. City masses could be returned to health and happiness, the national debt liquidated, the expense of the army and navy reduced, and even wars probably averted, all by the government's promoting emigration to the colonies.¹¹

Great Britain! which now in peace maintains a war establishment at a cost of twelve millions annually—which supports a Poor-law Union Work-house establishment, at the rate of six millions annually—which paid twenty millions

for the emancipation of eight hundred thousand negro slaves in the West Indies—and which clothes, and feeds, and supplies with medical comforts, and gives free passage to our colonies to convicted felons, at an expense of hundreds of thousands annually . . . cannot afford one farthing to help the honest and industrious proceed to the colonies for employment.¹²

Critics asserted that *laissez-faire*, as applied to emigration, had failed; thus, it was the state's duty to intervene and bring the long overdue benefits of the movement to the people. There was an education service: 'Why should there not be an emigration service?' demanded Thomas Carlyle; one which would bridge the Atlantic for 'every honest willing workman, who found England too strait [distressed] for his trade'. Carlyle and supporters of his doctrine agreed that the removal of people was a most arduous function and more complicated than reforming the tariff or passing a post office bill, but they insisted that the task must be undertaken so that English labour would not be doomed to perish.¹³ An army officer, expanding on the idea of an American friend, pictured emigration as a truly propitious social agency. He proposed that England pay the expense of locating parties composed in part of unidentified convicts in British North America. The action would give the prisoners a second chance, rid Britain of her undesirables, and furnish Canada with a labour force. It was hinted that the United States might even accept groups partially composed of convicts if Britain would purchase the land for their settlement, and agree to finance the building of railroads through the western states.¹⁴

Repeated rumours that the government was considering a programme of systematic emigration led zealous philanthropists to stress the human miseries and absolute necessity for prompt action. Humanitarians were especially hopeful at the beginning of the Peel ministry in 1841, but as months passed and no project was launched, cynicism replaced optimism, and Parliament was accused of indulging itself with commissions, resolutions, and discussions, but never with legislation.¹⁵

(2) Economic motives were also offered as cogent reasons for the immediate creation of an extensive nation-wide emigration system. Colonel Robert Torrens averred that an increased population could no longer contribute to the wealth of the nation; but emigration would allow for a growth in the capital wealth of both Britain and the colonies. Torrens emphasized that as the United Kingdom grew in numbers, profits to industry would be reduced. For example, as

the population increased there would be a greater demand for food, since it could not be produced in England, the price would rise; with the inflated cost of food, wages would be forced up; and thereby make manufacturing profits smaller and the expansion of factories less rapid at a time when new fields of employment were needed to accommodate the multiplying population. Not only would emigration enhance the wealth of British industry, but as people flowed to the sparsely-settled colonies, the empire also would be benefited.¹⁶

Emigration programmes were published in periodicals, newspapers, and inexpensive pamphlets. They generally included the expropriation of colonial lands for British occupancy and the use of naval vessels to transport the settlers. Ambitious promoters visualized the government's borrowing several million pounds with which to prepare the colonial tracts for easy and accessible settlement and cultivation. The debt would be liquidated as the estates were purchased; and if properly managed the venture could realize a handsome profit which could stimulate internal improvements within the colonies.¹⁷

Officials were not allowed to forget that poor rates, workhouses, and charity were costing the country thousands of pounds yearly, and represented assessments from which the taxpayers were anxious to be free. After a period of expectancy in the early and again in the late forties, the economic planners, like the humanitarians, gave up in disgust and chided the authorities for not having the courage or wisdom to turn Britain from a destitute into a prosperous nation.¹⁸

(3) The political argument for official emigration aid most often referred to the grave danger which overshadowed the throne, altar, and nobility. Sir James Graham's speech in the House of Commons on May 13, 1842, in which he showed that 1,072,000 persons were receiving parish relief in England and Wales, was seized upon as proof that the political fabric of the nation was being placed in unnecessary jeopardy.¹⁹ One writer believed that conditions made it imperative that the government spend up to three million pounds per year to employ the needy at home or transport them to the colonies. By so doing the political fanatics would become harmless, and Britain's physical might would be so welded together that she, merely through influence, could govern the world. Men without 'property, comfort, or employment' were adjudged eligible revolutionists, and as it was 'unreasonable and impossible' for the

state to provide work for all the jobless in England, emigration became an indispensable political instrument.²⁰

It was reasoned that Britain's rival across the Atlantic had for years been profiting by the United Kingdom exodus; therefore, the government, for its own political protection and welfare, and as a duty and obligation to its subjects should divert the human flow into other channels. Political theorists suggested that farmers and landed proprietors be assisted to go to the colonies. By working in close association with the government, they were to accelerate colonial settlement and guide the political destinies of the empire; presumably with the same adeptness that America had shown in the development of her frontier.²¹ Arabia, Spain, and Portugal were cited as nations who had unpropitiously handled their empires, and thereby brought weakness, poverty, and moral decay on themselves. Such great empires supposedly failed because they were administered by temporary officials whose only ambition was to rule and amass a personal fortune. England should make her colonies a bulwark of strength instead of allowing them to become the agent for her demoralization. An extensive and diversified governmentally assisted emigration of all classes would animate the homeland through the moral and physical fortification of her outposts.²²

(4) Churchwardens, local Poor Law guardians, and parish relief committees were constantly implored to adopt extensive emigration programmes. The formation of a railway company in British North America was a somewhat chimerical, although common, proposal made to parish guardians. Railway construction in the colonies would siphon off local relief victims, and at the same time ensure them employment in North America. As sections of the railway were completed, the valuable property along it would be sold to capitalists, and this income, plus refunds made by the workhouse emigrants after they had become prosperous farmers, would pay for the original transport of the paupers. Presumably, the British and Colonial Governments were to make free grants of the land. Complete particulars of the scheme, like the number of bushels of wheat to be grown in the first few years by the immigrants, the interest to be paid on loans, and the final division of profits to be made among the parties involved, were worked out in minute detail.²³

Literally dozens of similarly organized and equally unrealistic parish emigration plans were circulated; in some, designated areas in British North America were to be given to individual English

parishes for their settlement and developmental purposes; in other instances, profits made from the undertakings were to support local almshouses for the blind, aged, and others who could not emigrate. Several writers urged that the central authorities furnish transportation and the local parishes the outfit for anyone wishing to settle on crown lands in the colonies. A variation of the plan declared that an emigration rate be levied against all parishes and be used to cover the entire expense of any relief-drawing victim who desired to leave.²⁴ *The Times* and other conservative organs endorsed the idea, but proposed that it be a voluntary assessment. After combining philanthropic and official efforts, the local guardians were to select the most deserving among the unemployed and forward them to the colonies.²⁵ Inasmuch as the 1834 Poor Law already outlined a procedure by which parishes could finance departures, more practical advocates of locally supported emigration suggested that the existing law merely be extended and liberalized. Emanating mostly from unrealistic theorists, rather than Poor Law guardians or community authorities, the schemes demanding governmental action to facilitate parish emigration failed to impress either Parliament, the ministry, or local officials.²⁶

(5) Emigration for the good of the empire provoked an agitation as diversified as that advanced for humanitarian, economic, political, or local reasons. Pro-emigration imperialists maintained that it was the government's duty to protect and cultivate the colonial wealth of Britain by re-routing settlers from the United States to the colonies, and by financing departures to areas where labour was urgently needed.²⁷ Without a systematic programme Canada assuredly would be lost; whereas, official direction would result in persons of rank and wealth desiring to settle in British North America; and thereby give to it a physical and cultural hegemony which would complement that of the motherland.²⁸

Criticism of the lack of official direction was widespread among those interested in the empire. John Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, told the home government in 1840 that if his province was to have sufficient strength to save itself, one and a half million people were needed;²⁹ a British officer vividly compared the hustling, industrious American cities with the poverty-ridden Canadian towns, and blamed the mother government for the humiliating situation;³⁰ and Sidney Smith declared that during the twenty-four years prior to 1849, 1,400,000 valuable colonists had proceeded from Canada to the United States because Britain had

ignored her responsibilities.³¹ Even those who reluctantly admitted that Canada had been rather more of a financial liability than an asset to Britain pointed out that such a condition was the fruits of disinterest and improper handling by the home government.³² Attempting to needle its readers, London's leading colonial magazine asked if the British had lost the energetic spirit of their ancestors, and were willing to entrust the great empire in North America 'to the caprice of the unlearned and the audacity of the unprincipled'.³³

In the minds of upper-class Englishmen the 1848 revolutions in Europe pushed America into second place as the home of disorder and radicalism. Nevertheless, William H. G. Kingston visualized the world as lining up behind British monarchy or American republicanism; the government, therefore, should instigate a programme to transport colonists to Canada for its military protection.³⁴ Carrying the logic further, jingoes stressed the friendship between the United States and Russia, and the possibility of a coalition between the two. Such an alliance could result in Canada's being squeezed from Britain or eventually in a direct attack upon Europe, which, like Canada, lay between the two giants. Officially conducted emigration to Canada would, in effect, make it a protective bastion for European civilization.³⁵ President Polk's territorial ambitions were to be resisted not by lethargy, but by the creation of a counterpoise north of the forty-ninth parallel.

During the latter forties some of those ardently devoted to invigorating the colonies were disturbed lest British North America fall to the United States in spite of an extensive emigration enterprise, in which case the persons already carried out would strengthen the enemy. But by the fifties colonizers agreed that the North American provinces would not be lost or given away; therefore, the establishment of a permanent emigration system no longer could have any legitimate opponents.³⁶

In part countering the propaganda favouring assisted and controlled emigration was the campaign which assailed governmental intervention into what was characterized as a personal concern. Anti-emigration ideas were not only proffered by employers and those financially interested in repeal of the Corn Laws, but *laissez-faire* theorists were equally certain that many did not 'distinguish between the practical and useful objects of emigration', and those which were 'visionary'. Herman Merivale told his Oxford students that the controversy over the granting of Canadian lands was superfluous since most of those leaving Britain were, and must

continue to be, absorbed by the more fully developed society of the United States.³⁷

A few persons were apprehensive lest a 'wholesale attempt at emigration', without a carefully planned educational programme, might excite suspicion among the poorer classes, and result in their refusal to leave under any circumstances.³⁸ Others thought the voluntary method quite effective. 'We are unwilling to believe that any grand scheme of systematic emigration, however carefully combined, could have produced results equal to those which we now see around us!'³⁹ Consequently, the vast amount of material circulated, demanding official aid to emigration, does not prove that the majority of the British people were in favour or perhaps even interested in such a policy. That simple fact must be remembered in order to understand the seeming reluctance on the part of every early Victorian government and the apparent hesitancy on the part of every Colonial Secretary to take really aggressive or dynamic steps with respect to emigration promotion.

HOME AND COLONIAL EMIGRATION POLICY TO MID-1846

Emigration proponents represented nearly every class, occupation, or gradation within the British society: from street urchins to dukes, temperance groups to grog-shop indigents. And emigration societies were formed in every section of the country: from St. David's to Great Yarmouth, Land's End to the Shetlands. To evaluate critically the total effect of the multifarious organizations upon the official emigration policy is a tortuous undertaking. However, to understand any major movement one must study conduct as well as creeds. In this connection, attitudes and actions undoubtedly were influenced most by the political confusion and industrial expansion of the period, and perhaps to a lesser degree by the prevailing economic and social philosophies. The government officials and Members of Parliament, in their conception of and reaction to emigration, no doubt mirrored the persuasion of most upper- and middle-class Britons.

When Thomas Elliot became Agent-General for Emigration in 1837, in a department only loosely attached to and financially independent of the Colonial Office, he for the first time inaugurated a definite and permanent emigration programme. Henry George Ward, Chairman of the 1836 Select Committee on Colonial Lands, and a Wakefieldian, had led that committee to suggest that the proceeds from the sale of crown lands be used to finance colonial

settlements. Operation of the plan came under the emigration department's direction, and comprised one of the three major functions falling under Elliot's jurisdiction. First, he supervised the selection of persons who, with funds from colonial land sales, were being assisted to go to the Australian colonies; secondly, he advised the Colonial Secretary, hence the government, on all emigration matters; and thirdly, he became the overseer for the various port inspection officers.⁴⁰ The new office also began to receive reports, transmitted by the colonial governors in British North America, which detailed the number, physical condition, general character, and other pertinent information on immigrants arriving in those colonies.⁴¹

Soon after the Elliot appointment, the British officialdom was faced with a rebellion in North America. The home government, therefore, temporarily suspended the constitution in Upper and Lower Canada, and appointed Lord Durham as special commissioner to govern and investigate affairs in the two disaffected colonies. Many Radicals viewed Durham as their Parliamentary leader, and it has been conjectured that it was his three years' absence in St. Petersburg that allowed the Radical Party to split into factions and ultimately dissolve about 1838.⁴² Durham's Canadian staff included Charles Buller as Secretary and Edward Gibbon Wakefield as an unofficial, but highly influential, advisor. However, as a result of the refusal and inability of the Melbourne ministry to support Durham's Canadian policy, his governorship lasted only for about five months during the summer and autumn of 1838. Early the next year, however, the historic 'Durham Report' was issued. That trenchant document set out the philosophy of the governor and his staff, and emphasized the need for a liberal, yet imperially directed, policy towards all colonies and especially towards those in North America.

The section of the report on colonial lands and emigration advanced the traditional Wakefieldian principles; lands should be sold at a relatively high uniform price; a tax should be placed on the cutting of timber on crown lands; and such income, plus other minor fees, should be used to stimulate emigration. Paradoxically, the Radicals encouraged granting full powers, including responsible government, to the colonies, and yet by suggesting that the mother country retain control over the lands, preserved the imperialistic note of Wakefieldianism. Another important item proposed that a commission be established to administer the government lands and

direct emigration.⁴³ Naturally, the Durham recommendations were not accepted by a ministry which had recalled him from Canada.

In an effort to re-emphasize the report and to give a further expression of the Wakefield thesis, H. G. Ward offered a motion in the House of Commons in June 1839 that a board be created as a distinct branch of the colonial department to administer waste areas and control emigration and related problems. The move was seconded by Sir William Molesworth; and Henry Labouchere, speaking for the government, admitted that the existing system was confused, but intimated that some official action would be taken. Later the motion was withdrawn.⁴⁴

Lord John Russell replaced Lord Normanby as Colonial Secretary in September 1839; and although not actually a supporter of the Durham-Buller principles,⁴⁵ he was, nevertheless, more receptive to them than had been his predecessor. Consequently, when Under Secretary Stephen explained to Russell that the Colonization Commission for South Australia (a project instigated by Wakefield) could be combined with the existing office of Agent-General for Emigration, and thereby reduce the total operating expense substantially, he agreed to the reorganization.⁴⁶ Russell no doubt saw in the change a method by which to comply with the 1836 Select Committee's recommendations on colonial lands, mollify the demands being made by the Wakefieldians, and pacify those Parliamentary critics demanding action.⁴⁷ The new bureau, headed by three commissioners, and taking over and enlarging upon the duties of the old office of the Agent-General for Emigration, was created in January 1840.⁴⁸

The section of the commissioners' instructions which authorized them to contract for the sale of crown land in the colonies and to utilize the income for the carrying out of emigrants did not apply to North America. Waste areas in New Brunswick and Upper Canada were already in the hands of the provincial governments, and similar arrangements for the other North American possessions seemed likely. Colonies receiving only voluntary emigration, like those in North America, were to be aided by the commissioners' enforcement of passenger ship regulations, and through the collection and diffusion of accurate information regarding employment possibilities. It was assumed that the government's handling of information would in turn control the direction and volume of the emigration flow.

Lord John Russell, in briefing the commissioners, ably expressed

the government's evenly balanced position between systematic emigration and complete *laissez-faire*.

We have no Right to interpose actively to promote Emigration, and at the same time [we have no right] to leave the ignorant and helpless to explore, as chance may determine, questions so deeply affecting their welfare. . . . It is therefore to be considered as a first principle of your official conduct, that you are at once to be prompt in affording to all applicants the most easy access to all authentic means of knowledge, and resolute in abstaining from giving, on behalf of the Government, any pledge or warranty as to the accuracy of the information which you may so impart.⁴⁹

Although approving of the creation of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, the agitators for responsible government were not men of half-measures; therefore, they did not hesitate to assail the ministry. During the cabinet shifts in the late summer of 1839, Buller had refused an offer of a secretaryship in the Board of Control apparently because he wished to remain untrammelled to campaign for responsible government and a vigorous emigration programme. Between December 1839 and February 1840 he expanded on the doctrines of the Durham Report in the columns of the *Colonial Gazette*, and in April 1840 anonymously republished *Responsible Government for Colonies*.⁵⁰ He criticized the government and especially attacked Sir James Stephen, the permanent Under Secretary at the Colonial Office, caustically labelling him a 'Mr. Mothercountry'. Buller erroneously assumed that the mild and withdrawing, yet efficient and intelligent, Stephen had blocked progress and change within the department.⁵¹

In June 1840 W. Smith O'Brien, in a long speech to an almost empty House of Commons, repeated the Wakefield views, and stressed the unemployment in Britain, need for labourers in the colonies, and the great stimulus to trade an extensive emigration programme would engender. William Hutt of Kingston-upon-Hull and H. G. Ward were O'Brien's more vocal supporters, while Vernon Smith and Lord John Russell placed the ministry in opposition to the legislation. They seemed to agree with O'Brien in theory, but doubted the practicability of his thesis. While opposed to large financial outlays and reluctant to see the young and productive leave England, several Tories thought that O'Brien's programme might produce emigrants who could be used to rebuild or replace depleted military units in the colonies. However, when Sir Robert Peel criticized the project's feasibility most Tory support was withdrawn. Later, O'Brien negated his resolution.⁵²

That the Colonial Office was not oblivious to either the Parliamentary pressure or public clamour being made for an extensive governmentally directed plan for emigration, was demonstrated by Russell's directive to the newly designated commissioners. Immediately upon their appointment he ordered them to prepare a report on the possibilities for a systematic emigration programme. Their closely reasoned memorandum of April 21, 1840, set the tenor of official activity for the remainder of the Whig administration. The board explained that, after considering requests for emigration aid and after conferring with all persons likely to have practical information, it found the demand for a governmentally supervised programme greater than at any time in history. 'From every part of England we are daily receiving applications from individuals of the labouring classes who are anxious to be assisted in their emigration to any of the British colonies.'⁵³

The commissioners believed that if ever emigration could be used as a relief measure to benefit all classes of society, and bring labour, strength, and protection to Canada, that time had arrived. But they were confronted with many doubts, the foremost of which was the problem of securing the necessary funds to put a programme into effect. Moneys granted from public revenue could not be dissipated unsystematically by contributions to personal or particular groups unless a national object was in view. The idea of using public revenue to give relief to British subjects, even under a most extensive emigration system, seemed of questionable worth. And the advantages bestowed on British North America when 60 per cent of her immigrants went to the United States, seemed even more dubious.⁵⁴

Larger parochial grants to increase emigration under the Poor Law, subsidies from private proprietors to clear their estates, use of the revenues from the sale of colonial lands, and contributions from corporate land companies interested in Canada were fund-raising methods advanced and advocated by the commissioners. While recognizing that the first two ideas were being beneficially applied locally, the commissioners were uncertain if they could be greatly expanded. Approving of the idea that the colonial land fund be used for emigration purposes, they pointed out that such proceeds went in most cases to the colonial, rather than to the home, government, and that the North American colonies had not specified that the funds be used for emigration purposes.

The commissioners indicated that some arrangement with the associations interested in North American lands might be made. As

the companies paid the government for the public land they had purchased, it was proposed that the funds be used to stimulate further emigration to the land agencies' colonial holdings. In 1838 the British American Land Company was assisting Scottish Highlanders to go to Canada. The association, however, had become financially involved; therefore, it suggested that a portion of the company's annual instalment payment to the government be used to prepare plots of ground for receiving immigrants.⁵⁵ After the commissioners had studied an 1839 renewal of the proposal and were apparently ready to recommend its approval, they found that Lord John Russell had already entered into other negotiations with the bankrupt company.

The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company was not considered by the commissioners since, from the time of its founding in 1831, there often had been misunderstandings between the government and the company. In 1839 the balance of the interest and capital owed by the company was made a part of the territorial revenue of New Brunswick. As a result negotiations between the company and the British Government were at an end.⁵⁶

A third land holder, the Canada Company, had done a great deal, especially in the thirties, to foster settlement in North America, but due to the rebellion, emigration to their lands had almost ceased. Still owing a land debt of £60,000 to be paid in six instalments within a three-year period, the company suggested that they employ the entire amount to convey persons to Canada. However, since the debt had become payable to the Canadian, instead of to the British, Government, and since Canada was not receptive to the idea, the proposal was stillborn.⁵⁷

The North American Colonial Association of Ireland developed a far more elaborate scheme whereby they were to purchase land in Canada and New Brunswick and apply the purchase money to the promotion of emigration, rather than paying the government for the estates. The association planned to loan money to small capitalists going to the settlement, construct a railway, build homes, and pay for the transport of large numbers of persons sailing from the United Kingdom. They hoped to persuade large land holders, mainly Scottish Highland proprietors, to send their redundant tenants to the new estates, and even implied that the government should match the sums contributed by the landlords. Although somewhat favourably considered by the emigration board, the overly ambitious programme of the association did not materialize.

The commissioners recommended that a Parliamentary grant, not to exceed £50,000, be made to their department; the grant was to be used as an incidental fund to assist in the transport of settlers to Canada.⁵⁸ Proposing no extensive programme for 1840, the three-man board advocated the working out of general plans so that, with the coming of more tranquil conditions in North America, more definite action could be taken in the future.

Though most of the ideas put forth by the commissioners were not adopted, the Colonial Office apparently was aware of the sanguine influence emigration had come to yield in the minds of thousands of persons, and was ready to take moderate, though not dynamic, action. In 1840 Russell sanctioned a Parliamentary grant to Canada of £1,500; it was to be used to encourage general emigration and to assist indigents after their arrival in the colony. Becoming an annual contribution, and at times being increased to as much as £10,000, the grant was continued until March 31, 1855.⁵⁹ Russell also approved, contrary to the Wakefieldian principle, the allotment of small plots of land to Canadian immigrants; he hoped it would discourage their migration to the United States.⁶⁰

Another move which demonstrated the government's willingness to at least provide the advocates of emigration with an opportunity to prove their claims was the appointment in February 1841 of a select committee to inquire into the Highland distress. The colonial backers assumed their panacea to be the cure for every economic ill; while, conversely, most of the ministry agreed to the inquiry because they believed it would reveal that emigration was not the answer to the Highland problem. Henry J. Baillie of Inverness-shire, in proposing the committee investigation, emphasized that the extreme destitution of the Highlands warranted unusual, as well as immediate, attention. While normally adverse to official assistance, Baillie was convinced that if the Highlanders were sent to Canada their language, customs, and traditions would prevent them from drifting on into the United States. Emphatically stating that a special emigration service could not be provided for a particular area, Russell nevertheless granted the appointment of the committee; while speaking for the Tories, Peel concurred with the majority party, and accented the belief that if the Highlanders were given aid, the weavers would follow, and then scores of other afflicted trades would clamour for assistance.⁶¹

Although submitting exceptionally complete and informative

reports on March 26 and May 24, the committee's final recommendations were rather indefinite. They concluded that a 'well-arranged' emigration system should be worked out in co-operation with the colonies. Canada, by developing public works, was thought able to absorb 50,000 persons annually and, at the same time, qualified to offer some assistance to new arrivals.⁶² But neither a constructive Parliamentary programme nor a careful analysis of the committee's report by the government was forthcoming. Considering the attitude of both major political parties towards the original appointment of the committee and the rapidly declining prestige of the Whig ministry, perhaps neither was to be expected.

The modest, yet by no means meagre, attention given the emigration issue by the Whig administration did little to appease either the Wakefieldians or the thousands petitioning for an emigration subsidy. Most Colonial Reformers failed to see that during his two years as Colonial Secretary Russell had made substantial strides towards a more positive and practical emigration and land policy. Many of the older Radical Party, their desires for a more active emigration programme notwithstanding, had gravitated to the new Whigism. In 1841 Charles Buller accepted the position he had refused in August of 1839, and became Secretary of the Board of Control. Wakefieldians in Parliament, therefore, were confronted by the political inadvisability of criticizing the party to which they held nominal allegiance. Outside of Parliament, however, most emigrationists, though wary of Toryism, applauded when the Whigs resigned in August 1841.

After Parliament was adjourned in October and the Tory ministry began to formulate its legislative programme, a rumour was widely circulated that the new Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley, was going to take bold and effectual steps towards the promotion of systematic emigration. Perhaps the Lord Mayor of London did more than anyone else to give credence to the rumour. During the last weeks of 1841 a party of bankers, manufacturers, merchants, and businessmen of London continually brought pressure upon the Lord Mayor to appeal to the government for emigration aid. The group of some 150 persons, all of rank, 'respectability and standing in society', subscribed to a requisition requesting the magistrate to call a meeting to discuss emigration. He refused, and the petition signers were forced to hold the meeting on their own authority. Through the same period, deputations of unemployed weavers from Spitalfields also waited upon the city's chief executive, but the reply was always

the same.⁶³ The Lord Mayor contended that the subject was being officially considered, and proposed that local organizations defer their suggestions until the new policy was set forth.⁶⁴

Basing their action upon the rumours, aspiring commercial companies began to submit bids for the transport of the human cargoes. One ambitious gentleman from Liverpool offered to give security to the amount of £20,000 and proof that he had for fourteen years carried persons to the United States, Canada, and Australia. In his letter to Stanley of November 1841 he proposed to contract with the government for the transport of up to 50,000 emigrants at £4 per adult and £2 for each child.⁶⁵ A *London Sun* article of November 18, 1841, suggesting that the labouring class did not wish to leave Britain, inadvertently demonstrated the public tension and concern over the issues. Almost immediately, letters refuting the article and asking that it be ignored by the officials began to flow into the Colonial Department.

One of the first questions put to the Treasury bench by Russell on the opening of Parliament in February 1842 was whether an extensive emigration was being planned. Peel answered in the negative. Stanley elaborating upon Peel's reply, indicated that protecting the poor against fraud, ensuring safety and convenience in travel, and simplifying the system of land sales in the colonies would be the extent of official action. While a few former Radicals like Smith O'Brien and John Roebuck strenuously protested, Whigs and Tories generally agreed with Stanley's analysis of the government's obligation to emigrants.⁶⁶ The debate on emigration revealed that despite the fire of Palmerston, the 1840's was not a drum and trumpet era in the history of British imperialism.

Nevertheless, petitions and memorials continued to flood the Colonial Office. The depressed conditions of the handloom weavers provoked an extraordinarily large number of requests from that sorely-tried craft.⁶⁷ The Select Committee on Emigration of 1826-27 had particularly stressed the unemployment problem of weavers in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Cumberland in England and Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire in Scotland. Thirteen societies from Renfrewshire, all composed of handloom weavers, had petitioned the emigration committee of 1827 for emigration aid.⁶⁸ With the improved conditions of the mid-thirties, appeals for help diminished, but as the depression of the late thirties extended into the early forties, Paisley became the centre of a wide area of misery and unrest. Private letters and memorials having failed,

Paisley emigration societies prevailed upon the town council to intercede for them in requesting official assistance.⁶⁹ A few weeks later, the member from Renfrewshire, Patrick Stewart, opened the issue in Parliament by advising the Commons that he had received petitions with the names of 'hundreds and thousands' of persons who were anxious to emigrate. Stanley, a man of cautious prudence, bluntly informed Stewart that the government could do nothing to further the societies' objectives.⁷⁰

A rather extensive debate as to whether weavers made satisfactory emigrants was being conducted by the public press. *The Times* ridiculed the idea of sedentary workers being able to cope with the forests of America, but other journals argued that weavers aided to go to Australia in the thirties had proved eminently successful. John Crawford, an especially active emigration propagandizer from Paisley, and a close friend of the Canadian emigration agent, Thomas Rolph, led the journalistic battle for the weavers, and eventually presented the government with an ambitious plan whereby thousands were to be sent out.⁷¹ Although conditions grew more acute, the Colonial Office remained adamant. Therefore, in early 1843, memorials from several Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Perth societies, as well as from nineteen different organizations comprising the United Emigration Societies of Paisley and Renfrewshire, were in desperation directed to the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury. The Treasury lords informed Crawford, representative for several of the societies, that there were no funds available for the transport of the poor, and that, furthermore, they doubted whether the mere conveyance to Canada would relieve the memorialists' misery. The reply closed the last avenue through which assistance seemed likely to flow. But providentially, the refusal by Parliament, by the ministry, and by the governmental bureaux to act was followed by a sharp upturn in industrial activity.⁷² The weavers, therefore, as well as other operatives and craftsmen, returned to their shuttle, bench, and forge to make one further attempt to build William Blake's Jerusalem 'among these dark Satanic mills'.

Less than a month after the official rejection of aid to the Paisley petitioners, Charles Buller made his celebrated Parliamentary speech on the need for systematic emigration as a partial remedy for economic distress. Physical poverty coupled with moral neglect, Buller believed, had produced a fearful temper among the masses; each depression was 'fraught with greater danger'. 'We have stood too long with safety on volcanic soil. . . .'⁷³ Endeavouring to

tie colonization to the free-trade policy, he stressed that both the bringing of food to the people and the taking of people to the food could be corrective measures: 'I propose colonization as subsidiary to Free-trade; as an additional mode of carrying out the same principles, and attaining the same object'.⁷⁴ Buller's theory was courteously received by the Commons; however, most members, for allegedly minor reasons, found excuses for not supporting the measure. As a result of sickness, Buller was unable to present a second and more exhaustive plan until August 15, by which time the anti-Corn Law members, obviously annoyed by a solution other than Corn Law repeal being offered as a remedy for distress, had become outspoken in their opposition. The ministry's half-hearted consent to study the second motion ended the debate.⁷⁵ Signs of economic recovery together with Stanley's Merovingian attitude led, by the autumn of 1843, to a rapid decline in appeals for emigration assistance.⁷⁶

The Tory ministry of the forties added little, either theoretically or administratively, to the emigration programme they inherited from the Whigs in 1841. Peel was not a man to advocate intangible and romantic measures, and though he was master of his cabinet, he did not interfere with Stanley's operation of the Colonial Office. Failing to devote adequate time or exert sufficient effort to produce a real philosophy of colonial management, Stanley, while unusually interested in emigration and sincerely anxious for the healthful growth of the colonies, made no attempt to influence or direct the masses sailing from British shores.

The advocates of a strong emigration policy bided their time, and chafed, and scolded, and condemned. As Edward Gibbon criticized the Christian saints and accused them of betraying Rome by withdrawing to the desert, so the grandson of a distant relative, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, criticized the government and accused it of shunning responsibility by permitting misery to breed fanaticism.

HOME AND COLONIAL EMIGRATION POLICY AFTER MID-1846

The Wakefieldians were jubilant when, in mid-1846, Earl Grey became the new Whig Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Russell ministry. While Parliamentary Under Secretary from 1830 to 1833 he, as Lord Howick, had partially adopted the Wakefield theory and had been instrumental in getting a permanent emigration agency established. Charles Buller was appointed Judge Advocate. In 1847 T. F. Elliot, Chairman of the Colonial Land and Emigration

Commission, was chosen Assistant Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and when 'Mr. Mothercountry' Stephen resigned as Permanent Under Secretary in 1847, Elliot became more influential by taking over many of Stephen's duties. Grey was recognized as a dynamic and forceful individual whose aim was to construct and create a positive, yet liberal colonial policy. He did not ignore and by-pass fundamental issues in the Stanley manner. On the other hand, his approach to emigration clearly warrants the contention that from the 1830's to the late 1850's the major political parties differed little on the question of colonies and empire. Again Wakefield was to be disappointed.

On emigration Grey was influenced by opposing philosophies. Writing in the fifties, he vividly indicated his belief in responsible government and systematic settlement as they were set forth in the Durham Report. Yet reflecting the influence of the Manchester school, he reasoned that governmentally directed emigration to British North America would not work, and concluded that since the United States was not a hostile power but Britain's best customer, departures to America were not undesirable. Bringing out the practical issues involved, Grey later logically speculated that both Canada and the United States would have objected to officially sponsored, mass emigration from Britain; that the problem of selecting the persons to leave would have been Herculean; and that the government would have been responsible for the people's welfare for a time after their arrival in the new country. To Grey such a responsibility seemed totally unjustified when the government did not assume any obligation to the unemployed at home. The emigration commissioners, speaking Grey's mind, explained that a large number of vessels went to North America, sailed from over a score of English ports, and departed during every season of the year. Was it not reasonable to deduce that the people could arrange their own transportation with more convenience and at less expense than could the government?⁷⁷

Distinct signs of the economic distress that was to plague the Russell ministry throughout most of its six years in office led Grey, in December 1846, to make one of his most far-reaching emigration proposals. In a letter to the Earl of Elgin, Governor-General of Canada, he sketched a plan whereby the government would lend money to landed proprietors with which they were to construct villages, accommodating about 300 settlers each, on their Canadian estates. Tenants were to pay a small rent. Later, if they

wished, they could purchase their homes as well as small plots of nearby lands. Supposedly the position of the original land owners would be bettered by the increased demand for their estates, the welfare of emigrants assured by their being provided for on arrival in Canada, and criticism of the government assuaged by its helping to relieve the distress at home. Furthermore, the ministry would be maintaining its 'hands off' policy by not being directly responsible for the emigration. The Colonial Office was somewhat surprised when every land company or landed proprietor approached declined to participate in Grey's programme.⁷⁸

After several months had passed and the Whig administration had failed to outline new emigration procedures, Vernon Smith, formerly Russell's Under Secretary at the Colonial Office, moved that an extensive plan be immediately drafted. His speech followed the pattern of the one given by Ward in 1839, Smith O'Brien in 1840, and Buller in 1843, and was the last of the outstanding independent motions made in Parliament for systematic emigration. The proposal evoked the same marked courtesy and kindness as had Buller's in 1843, but after Benjamin Hawes, Colonial Under Secretary, and even Buller, now hamstrung by his official position, replied unfavourably for the government, it was withdrawn.⁷⁹

As severe food shortages and acute unemployment spread over Scotland and Ireland, the late forties saw the Colonial Office inundated with literally hundreds of petitions and memorials requesting emigration aid; many of the suggestions offered in the early forties were revived; and in some instances officials or others with considerable standing in the local communities presented the renewed appeals.⁸⁰ In June 1847 Lord Lincoln's request in the House of Commons for an extensive transport of paupers from Ireland to the colonies received little consideration; however, Grey accepted a similar motion in the Lords and a select committee was appointed to investigate the Irish emigration question and John Godley's related proposals.⁸¹

In March 1847 three Irish Members of Parliament, John Robert Godley, W. H. Gregory, and M. J. O'Connell, mapped a plan which was first published in *The Spectator* to settle thousands of Irishmen in Upper Canada. The proposal widely known as 'Mr. Godley's scheme' had matured in Godley's mind after he visited North America in 1842, and studied the recommendations of Archbishop Whateley's commission of 1838 and Lord Devon's commission of the early forties. Russell, Grey, and Benjamin

Hawes placed the ministry squarely in opposition to the plan, and while the select committee was composing its report of broad and innocuous generalizations 'one-sixth of the people of Ireland died, and one-sixth fled to America in poverty and degradation, while the taxpayers of England were shamed into spending more than £9 millions to keep the rest alive'.⁸² As the Wakefieldians waited, and no specific programme was delineated, hope was slowly abandoned. They accused Grey of not only overthrowing his original principle of a controlled colonization, but also of manoeuvring Buller into the government, and thereby silencing him as an aggressive Parliamentary leader. During the spring of 1848, however, Wakefield and Buller worked out the preliminary steps for a widespread emigration campaign, but Buller's untimely death in November precluded the launching of the venture.⁸³

For the four years remaining to the Whig ministry, Lord Grey maintained his 'go-slow' attitude towards settling Britons in North America. Since capital was not flowing as freely to the area as were people, he thought financial aid from the home government would strengthen the colonies' economy, create an additional demand for labour, and indirectly allow for a healthful rather than an artificial emigration. The idea of a Halifax-Quebec Railway to tie the colonies more closely together had been broached first by Lord Durham. Later, while Colonial Secretary, Gladstone had favourably viewed the Nova Scotia proposal that the imperial government should financially assist in the venture. The programme, in Grey's estimation, would solidify the empire, encourage a greater flow of wealth to British North America, and allow for a larger percentage of the British emigrants to settle permanently in the colonies.

After some difficulty, Grey convinced a reticent cabinet of the merits of the idea, and eventually secured its approval for a government grant to construct the railway. His efforts were complemented during the spring and summer of 1848 when the Canadian, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia Governments agreed to grant land along the line and make other contributions toward financing the undertaking. But, with the discussion being prolonged until 1850, the colonies became financially involved in other railway schemes, and finally demanded that the British Government include the new colonial projects in the financial agreement. Grey stoutly refused the request; and since most of his colleagues, as well as the London financial world, had from the first been sceptical of governmental

intervention into private spheres of operation, the arrangement was dropped.⁸⁴

The extreme distress throughout the Highlands and islands of Scotland brought about the last important emigrant legislation of Grey's secretariat. Sir John McNeill's report on the western Highlands and islands outlined the insufferable conditions, and pointed to the efforts being made by proprietors to send out their starving tenants.⁸⁵ A bill to help alleviate the Scottish destitution, introduced in the Commons on July 25, 1851, passed both houses with little opposition, and became law on August 7. It provided for the advancement of money to any land owner who wished to defray the expense of sending out persons from the parish in which his land was situated.⁸⁶

In the meantime, a small unofficial group had formed the Society for the Promotion of Colonization to extol the glories of emigration and further the interests of the colonies. A deputation from the group waited upon the Colonial Secretary and later memorialized the Prime Minister for governmental aid, but to no avail. The organization quickly reformed into the Labourers' Relief Emigration Society, and in May 1848 became known as the Society for the Promotion of Colonization. The new group was supported by the Earl of Harrowby, the Lord Mayor of London, Francis Scott, M.P., William H. G. Kingston, and Englishmen who held substantial investments in Australian property; its chief project was the collection of funds to stimulate departures to the South Pacific area. Co-operating closely with the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, the society helped to send out persons who were not eligible for assistance from funds provided by the sale of Australian lands.⁸⁷

Although the New Zealand Company founded by Wakefield in 1840 had been granted a monopoly in the colonizing of those islands, the company had seldom been in agreement with the official attitude. After the first wave of enthusiasm had waned, the New Zealand group began to experience financial difficulties. Wakefield then attempted to attract German emigrants, but he was rebuffed by the colonial department. In 1848, however, he succeeded in luring the Free Church of Scotland to plant the Otago settlement, and the next year John Robert Godley was persuaded to head up the Canterbury Association's emigration project which led to the founding of an Anglican colony on South Island.

In December 1848 Wakefield resigned from the New Zealand

Company because it was widely held that Grey would be prejudiced against the organization as long as the unusually influential, though not estimable, Wakefield was one of the directors. As Colonial Under Secretary, James Stephen had refused to allow the Colonial Reformers to recruit Germans; Grey had postponed the granting of a constitution to New Zealand and had demurred when asked for a colonization charter for the Canterbury Association. Therefore, when Wakefield's celebrated work, *The Art of Colonization*, was published in early 1849, it attacked the Colonial Office in general and castigated Grey in particular. Wakefield was like Prince Rupert in that 'whatsoever he will[ed], he will[ed] vehemently'.

Early in 1850 Wakefield instigated the formation of the Society for the Reform of Colonial Government. It was *une société organisée pour l'opposition*, wherein governmental critics could loosely associate to oppose the official colonial policy. Although the organization did effect some change in the control of Australian crown lands, it had negligible influence upon North American settlement.⁸⁸

With the fall of the Russell ministry in 1852, the Colonial Reformers were more pleased than they had been on its accession to power. Although Grey had helped to bring responsible government to British North America, the Wakefieldians had come to consider him the main obstacle to emigration and colonial progress. Grey had supported both the new and the old concept of the British Empire; he had maintained the traditional seventeenth-century impression also held by Wakefield that the empire was one giant economic unit with its nucleus in Britain; but he had also accepted the Cobden-Bright theory that Britain's destiny was to be the mother of nations.

With the Colonial Office changing hands ten times during the eight years following 1852, it was impossible for a consistent and energetic programme to be followed, and although Herman Merivale served quite effectively as Permanent Under Secretary until 1859, he was a hearty believer in *laissez-faire*, and had never propounded state controlled emigration. As the fifties progressed and New Zealand and Australia achieved responsible government, a rapid drift from Wakefield's original theory of a well-knit empire to the principles of *laissez-aller* became the customary philosophy when viewing the colonies. Starting in 1856, even the annual voting of supplies for the emigration commissioners met with considerable opposition. Somewhat surprisingly, C. B. Adderley, the 1859 and

1860 leader of the attack upon the grant, had been one of the foremost Colonial Reformers a decade earlier.⁸⁹

However, the breadth and depth of the *laissez-faire* concept has often been overdrawn. If it was an 'age of tooth and claw', it was also an era in which classical learning, Christian enthusiasm, medieval fantasy, and eighteenth-century rationalism flourished. The famous 1852 blunder of the young Disraeli perhaps over-simplifies the official attitude: 'Those wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years, and they are a millstone round our necks'. If conduct as well as creed is a criteria for judging, then early Victorian England was by no means sterile in the field of emigration assistance.

Starting in 1831, proceeds from land sales were used intermittently to transport emigrants to Australia. During the thirties bounties were often given to shipowners who carried out settlers. From 1840 to the early 1870's the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission controlled the sale of Australian lands, selected the persons to be sent out, chartered the ships, and supervised the physical and moral requirements of the passengers. The government assisted over 300,000 persons to go to Australia between 1830 and 1870. The activity of the Colonial Department also led private societies to co-operate with the government, and provide additional assistance which supplemented the official aid.

Perhaps no more than a thousand emigrants went to New Zealand under the auspices of the emigration commissioners, but Wakefield and the Colonial Reformers notwithstanding, the Colonial Office sanctioned legitimate and feasible private plans for the settlement of New Zealand. It would appear, therefore, that when the natural phenomena of distance and location prevented an individualized migration to a British land reasonably suited for settlement, the government with hesitancy and reluctance, yet with empathy and thoroughness, assumed the responsibility.

Although requests for government aid to transport Britons to North America rapidly declined during the fifties, demands for better protection for those who left ultimately resulted in the 1855 passenger law; the 'Magna Charta' among emigrant transport Acts. Legislation for passenger ships had started in 1803 when a rather strict measure, instigated by the Highland Society to retard emigration, had been enacted.⁹⁰ In 1817 and again in 1823 the statute was amended,⁹¹ while a very severe regulation, passed in 1825 and repealed in 1827, was followed by a rather lenient law in 1828.⁹²

Starting in 1835, after the repeal of the 1828 Act, more exacting and complete legislation was begun. The number of persons carried per ton of ship burden was reduced, and space between decks, size of berths, and food and water on board were all regulated.⁹³ Unbelievably bad conditions continued to exist, however; and reports of violations and evasion soon brought about more rigid provisions being inserted into the statute.⁹⁴

The mass emigration of the late forties resulted in a temporary measure being passed in 1848, and followed by a more restrictive permanent law in 1849. The enforcement of the 1849 Act was placed in the hands of the emigration commissioners.⁹⁵ In 1851 alterations with special reference to steam ships were made in the law,⁹⁶ and in 1852 additional features, suggested by the House of Commons, were also incorporated into the regulation.⁹⁷ With the outbreak of a cholera epidemic aboard emigrant ships in 1854, and as a result of the recommendations of a select committee of the House of Commons, the stringent and thorough statute of 1855, which remained unchanged for over a decade, was enacted.⁹⁸ One difficulty that all British legislation experienced was the lack of control over American emigrant ships. Before the 1855 bill was passed, it had been proposed to the United States that she and Britain enact similar legislation, but effective American action was not taken until after the Civil War.⁹⁹

British colonizers generally were more alarmed over American migrations into the disputed areas of western North America than by the lack of co-operation in dealing with emigrant transport problems. Emigration seemed to many British imperialists an ideal tool with which to gain a political and diplomatic mastery in the internationally sensitive territories along the Pacific Coast.

FOREIGN AND TERRITORIAL EMIGRATION POLICY TO MID-1846

The United States-British North America boundary controversy amicably negotiated by Webster and Ashburton in 1842 stimulated little emigration discussion in Britain. Although bits of territory from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains had been under debate, the areas were small and as yet only sparsely populated. It was not suggested, therefore, that Britons settle the disputed lands in an effort to swing them to the mother country. After 1842 the disputed boundary line lay west of the Rocky Mountains where the situation was further complicated by Mexico's tenuous hold on her northern provinces. And while Texas was independent there

was much speculation as to her future disposition. Imperialistically-minded Englishmen, quite naturally, came to view emigration as an effective tool with which to bring the vast western region under British suzerainty. British officials gave considerable thought to Texas, and in an effort to dispose of their lands, Texas agents glorified emigration, but it was never seriously suggested that there could be a sufficient movement to Texas to bring the republic under British domination. But the Far West was appraised quite differently; the Pacific Coast, and especially California, seemed to present the perfect opportunity to foster emigration as a diplomatic and political expedient.

The first advocates of emigration to California, however, had not been motivated by nationalism, by desire for expansion, or by economic distress within Britain. Long before those practical forces came to influence British foreign policy, the English geographer, William Martyn, had romanticized the area into a virtual fairy-land. His *Geographical Magazine; Or, New System of Geography* published in 1785 pictured the region as an enchanted paradise of unbounded beauty and limitless wealth.¹⁰⁰ Captain James Cook's work, outlining his experiences in the North American-China fur trade, had aroused the interest of commercial men. Soon other British explorers and traders were frequenting the Pacific Coast.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century a few sailors, trappers, and traders had become permanent settlers in Spanish California. The cessation of the Napoleonic Wars allowed, and later the Mexican rule encouraged, a more orderly and better-planned British emigration. However, by the 1820's the Americans were fast becoming the dominant foreign group in California.¹⁰¹ Volumes two through five of Hubert Howe Bancroft's *History of California* offer a most extensive and detailed register of the immigration in these early years. A study of the register clearly indicates that the British influx was neither large nor of a diversified character. Most of the early immigrants were traders who often adopted the habits and customs of the new environment, and were rather quickly assimilated by the older California society. As late as March 1842 the semi-official informant for the British Government, Sir George Simpson, estimated that of the 600 foreigners in California only 100 were British.¹⁰²

Starting in the early 1830's, California became better known throughout the United Kingdom, and the British public and government were intermittently appraised of the national advantage

and individual opportunities to be derived from a large migration to the Pacific Coast. In 1831 Captain Frederick William Beechey published a two-volume account of his visit to the Pacific in which he maintained that California's political and economic importance destined her to fall into more energetic and aggressive hands.¹⁰³

In his history of California, written in the mid-thirties, but not published until 1839, Alexander Forbes, a Scottish merchant of Tepic, Mexico, was astonished at how the crowded inhabitants of Britain were being reduced to eating raw fish to keep alive, while the warm and delightful country of California with its broad acres of rich soil lay in waste.¹⁰⁴ The country's ideal location for trade with India, China, South America, and the Pacific Islands, and its potentialities for producing flour, potatoes, hides, tallow, cheese, wines, hemp, and salt meats were particularly stressed. Forbes first suggested that whaling vessels on their way to Japanese waters could fill their empty whale oil casks with water and carry out emigrants at a very low cost. Secondly, he explained that within a few years a railway across Panama would make the Pacific Coast of America only one-half as far from Liverpool as Australia. If the 'country was under an enlightened and liberal government, which knew how to promote its colonization', it could contribute immeasurably towards benefiting and creating an outlet for the people of Europe. And if Mexico were to modify her views towards foreigners, no place would be 'better calculated for receiving and cherishing the superfluous population of Great Britain'.¹⁰⁵

In taking up Forbes' thesis, *The Colonial Magazine* revealed the root of British discomposure. It alleged that Mexico was too weak to hold California, and the United States eagerly coveted, while Russia already had encroached upon the area. Also, the French were cited consistently as planning movements into California, the Sandwich Islands, and other important posts of the Pacific. 'If we had statesmen at the head of our colonial affairs, California would soon be added to the list of British colonies.'¹⁰⁶ Even Herman Merivale, who clearly was not an imperialist, emphasized in his Oxford lectures the affect steam would soon play in opening up the Pacific Coast for British settlement.¹⁰⁷ But far more pointed were the 1841 comments of the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in America, Sir George Simpson. He believed that England was 'destined to add', the 'unscrupulous' Americans being the only problem, the 'fair and fertile province' to her possessions. To encourage such an ultimate disposition of the

territory, Simpson enjoined immediate emigration to the area; however, his book carrying these injunctions was not published until 1847.¹⁰⁸

Acting as agent for the Hudson's Bay Company, the only major British organization on the Pacific Coast, Simpson had visited San Francisco in 1841, and decided to plant a trading post there. The new station's manager, William Glen Rae, was instructed not only to conduct trade, but also to build national prestige with a view to California's ultimately passing to Britain. Chief Factor James Douglas frankly recorded in his journal in 1841 that in respect to the California post the company had political objectives.¹⁰⁹ The connection was clear since Simpson also acted as an informant for the British Government. In this capacity he hoped to stimulate official interest in the region. For example, he reported in March 1842 that the British residents in California were highly respected, and that the population 'would require very little encouragement to declare their independence of Mexico and place themselves under the protection of Great Britain'. In fact, it was thought California could be acquired even without cancelling the debt owed Britain by Mexico.¹¹⁰ Consequently, the Hudson's Bay Company found itself in the anomalous situation of fostering British emigration to California, but at the same time opposing settlement in its own fur-bearing Oregon domain.

The discussion of American migration to the Pacific Coast, particularly in *The Times* and *Fisher's Colonial Magazine*, rapidly increased after 1842. They pointed out that just as Britain was in a position to reap some trading value from the region, it was being arrogated by the United States. The British Navy also had become more conscious of its Pacific interests. In April and May of 1840 a party of turbulent foreigners under the leadership of Isaac Graham was arrested for an alleged conspiracy to overthrow the Mexican Government of Upper California. Thirty-eight of the number, including Graham and the British leader, Albert Morris, were taken to Tepic. Eustace Barron, the British consul at Tepic, was instrumental in securing the release of the prisoners; however, no British ship was nearby to lend assistance and Barron had found it expeditious to appeal to an American naval commander for aid.¹¹¹ Thereafter, British officers in Mexico began to call for greater naval strength in the Pacific.

In a letter to Viscount Palmerston of the Foreign Office, dated August 30, 1841, Richard Pakenham, minister to Mexico, officially

advised taking advantage of the agreement between Mexico and her European creditors to establish an English population in 'the magnificent territory' of Upper California. Pakenham had been influenced to make the suggestion by Barron, and by James Alexander Forbes, a resident of Monterey. The idea, however, was not a new one since Alexander Forbes, the vice-consul at Tepic, had unofficially proposed it in his *History of California* as early as 1839.

The financial understanding with Mexico had given holders of Mexican bonds, who converted the deferred interest into non-interest-bearing certificates, the right to exchange such certificates for lands in Texas, Chihuahua, New Mexico, or California. After Texas independence, the agreement could not be applied to lands there, and Pakenham thought that Chihuahua and New Mexico were undesirable places for settlement.

But, I believe there is no part of the world offering greater natural advantages for establishment of an English colony than the Province of Upper California, while its commanding position on the Pacific, its fine harbours, its forests of excellent timber, for ship building as well as for every other purpose, appear to me to render it by all means desirable, in a political point of view, that California, once ceasing to belong to Mexico, should not fall into the hands of any power but England; and the present deteriorated condition of Mexico and the gradual increase of the foreign population in California render it probable that its separation from Mexico will be effected at no distant period: in fact there is some reason to believe that daring and adventurous speculators in the United States have already turned their thoughts in that direction. . . .¹¹²

Further outlining the methods of transport to and settlement in California, and showing that it was closer than Australia and emigrants would get better land at a lower price, Pakenham wrote that Mexico authority would create no problem as the English immigrants virtually would be independent, and even nominal Mexican control probably would be short-lived. As only three days after the letter was written the cautious Aberdeen replaced the zealous Palmerston at the Foreign Office, no action was taken on Pakenham's proposal. However, less than a year and a half later, Fox, the British minister to Washington, told Aberdeen that Commander Jones had seized Monterey in October 1842 because he thought that Thomas, the British admiral in the Pacific, was going to take immediate possession of California unless forestalled by American action. Fox based his information on a review of letters written by United States officers.¹¹³ Soon after the seizure, Pakenham appointed James Alexander Forbes of Monterey Vice-Consul of Upper California. Thereafter, Forbes in Upper California

and Barron at Tepic worked actively to facilitate California's becoming a British province through British emigration.

By 1844 the British Government was sufficiently disturbed over the seemingly imminent American annexation of California that Charles Bankhead, the British minister in Mexico, was repeatedly directed to exert all his influence to secure Mexican acknowledgment of Texas independence. Otherwise, it was feared that war would result between the United States and Mexico, and lead to a revolt on the Pacific Coast with the pre-emption of California by the Americans.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, James Alexander Forbes' suggestion, which Barron forwarded to Aberdeen in October 1844, that natives of California be allowed, and in effect encouraged, to bring the area under British protection, met with opposition in the Foreign Office.¹¹⁵

British officials in Mexico continued to work towards emigration. And in July 1845 Bankhead and the British consul in Mexico City, Mackintosh, submitted to Aberdeen a plan entitled 'Propositions to be Made by the California Commercial and Colonization Company to Mexico'. A co-worker, D. Price, stood by in London to put the scheme into operation should the Foreign Secretary approve. Mexico was to be warned that unless Britain acted forthwith, the United States would take California. To secure British aid, Mexico was to give to the company an exclusive twenty-year right to import and export goods free of duty into Upper and Lower California, and similar rights, also for twenty years, over the whale and pearl fisheries, forests, mines, and lands of the regions. In return, the company was to pay Mexico \$5,000,000 a year for two years, finance the Mexican civil and military forces in California, supply 2,000 British troops for protection, and introduce 500,000 agricultural settlers into California within twenty years.¹¹⁶

This was obviously a thinly veiled design to make California a British colony. The covering letter for the project referred to other plans for emigration to the region, and specifically to Eugene MacNamara's project which was also being formulated in Mexico. The Irish priest, MacNamara, in asking for a grant of land in Upper California, promised to bring from 2,000 to 10,000 industrious settlers into the province. They were to defend the area against invasion, preserve the domestic peace and order, and develop the abundant resources of the country. With MacNamara and Vice-Consul Forbes on hand at Santa Barbara, the grant was actually made in July 1846; however, because of discrepancies in the document

and the almost immediate American seizure of California, no further action was taken.¹¹⁷

In early 1848 Senator Dix of New York made a heated allegation that MacNamara, the British consul at Tehuantepec, and the British commander in the Pacific, Admiral Sir George Seymour, had conducted a deliberate intrigue to take California for Great Britain just prior to the Mexican War.¹¹⁸ It was true that the British consul at Tepic, Barron, his subordinate at Monterey, Forbes, and MacNamara were interested in such a disposition of California. Officials in the Foreign Office did not hold the same views, however, since they even declined to take affirmative action on Mexico's indirect offer of May 1846 to sell California to the British.¹¹⁹

Meanwhile, during the mid-forties, accounts from British pioneers in California implored fellow countrymen to join them. They tantalized hungry friends at home by telling of the killing of cattle for hides, while the carcasses were thrown away.

There is no country in the world that offers as flattering inducements to emigrants as Upper California; nor is there a country, in my opinion, on the face of the globe, so eminently calculated by Nature herself to promote the prosperity and happiness of civilized and enlightened man.¹²⁰

The close geographical relationship between California and Oregon was also being pointed up. The Hudson's Bay Company's purchase of California livestock to promote its agricultural experiments had focused attention towards the northern settlements. And before 1846 Oregon naturally had received more official scrutiny from the British than the area to the south.

The only extensive British enterprise operating in the Oregon territory was the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1821 the North-West Company, which had controlled trading posts in the area for a decade, was merged into the Hudson's Bay Company. Four years later, Dr. John McLaughlin had moved the organization's headquarters from Fort George (formerly Fort Astoria) up the Columbia River to the newly constructed Fort Vancouver. McLaughlin immediately initiated a limited farming and ranching programme; however, since the agricultural activities were carried on by company employees or by those retired from its service, the unrestricted influx of British immigrants was not to occur for many years. As the agricultural programme expanded, an exporting business sprang up. The Russians to the north were sold flour, grain, and dairy products; hides, tallow, and wool were exported to England; and lumber was sent to the Sandwich Islands.¹²¹

Under the careful supervision of McLaughlin, agriculture was, by 1839, a truly large-scale enterprise. Therefore, as a result of the doctor's proposal, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company was capitalized as a separate concern, but the stock was held by the Hudson's Bay Company stockholders. Other farms were developed in the Cowlitz and Nisqually districts, and a Scotsman, Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, was chosen as manager of the new company. Although the great majority of the farm workers were retired company employees, half-breeds, or Scots, English, and French Canadians, apparently a small number of agriculture settlers were brought out from England.¹²² In 1841 some twenty-three families trekked over the mountains from the Red River Territory; very few of them, however, settled permanently on the company's farms. The strict requirements and rules laid down for the farmers did not attract settlers, and the sizeable profits reaped through trade in farm products notwithstanding, the company did not neglect its basic objective of fur trading.

The large quantities of wool furnished British manufacturers (10,000 pounds in 1845) did, however, indirectly stimulate some British thinking on the subject of emigration. During the forties the supply of raw wool and cotton often did not equal the demand. Some textile manufacturers speculated that parties of selected Britons sent out to Canada, the Pacific Northwest, and Australia could increase the production of the raw product. While some emigration societies were actually organized, apparently no settlers were sent to North America under this arrangement.¹²³

American missionaries first settled in the Willamette Valley in 1834, and while a few retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company were already residents of the area, the Americans soon became the dominant force in the valley. The early trickle of migrants to Oregon was quickly swollen into a great migration which no doubt influenced the settlement of the British American boundary dispute in 1846. American missionaries were also responsible for one of the most novel Anglo-American emigration schemes of the period. In August 1838 the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society was organized at Lynn, Massachusetts. Semi-religious in character, most of its leaders were Methodists, the society planned to develop an agricultural and commercial empire on the Pacific Coast. In addition, it hoped to convert the Indians; establish them as political equals; then weave both races into the new commonwealth. The society's monthly magazine *The Oregonian*, later *The Oregonian and*

Indian Advocate, was edited by the Rev. F. P. Tracy, and during its brief life, from October 1838 until the autumn of 1839, reached a circulation of nearly 800 copies. After the failure of an extensive effort to enlist emigrants from all parts of the United States for an 1840 migration, the organization quietly dissolved.¹²⁴ But the imaginative and eloquent Tracy was not easily deterred.

In the spring of 1845, styling himself Secretary of the Oregon Emigration Society of Williamsburg, Massachusetts, Tracy contacted the British Foreign Office. He offered to make certain confidential and secret propositions to Her Majesty's Government respecting the territory west of the Rocky Mountains.¹²⁵ Following the Foreign Office's advice of July 17 to contact Pakenham, the British minister at Washington, Tracy proposed in October and again in November that an independent republic or nation be set up in the West, and indicated that his organization was ready to proceed with the task if Great Britain favoured the proposition. The distinct impression given was that the 'independent nation', by being closely associated with Britain, would thwart further American expansion on the Pacific Coast. The Foreign Office correspondence to Tracy was noncommittal; however, Pakenham flatly stated that Britain could not encourage such a plan.¹²⁶

By June 1846 the final negotiations were being carried through for the partition of Oregon, but Britons who had lived or travelled in North America differed radically on their estimate of the treaty. Dr. Thomas Rolph, the Canadian immigration promoter who had spent over ten years in Canada, agreed that perhaps Oregon was not worth fighting for then, but contended that if the southern portion of Oregon went to the United States, California was sure to follow; 'the two must go together'. According to Rolph, Britain could not afford to lose either the Pacific trade or the emigration fields of the two areas.¹²⁷ Other ardent emigration enthusiasts thought it imperative that conflict with the United States be avoided even if Britain lost all of Oregon. Sarah Maury, a British lady of the upper middle class and an extensive American traveller, most enthusiastically argued this counter-philosophy. She reasoned that conflict with America would stop emigration to that country, create greater suffering in England, and almost certainly result in Canada's being annexed by the United States.¹²⁸

In the final analysis, the Maury view toward emigration to the United States predominated as relatively few British went to the Pacific Coast, while, with continued peaceful relations between

Britain and America, thousands settled in the long-established eastern states. Some writers of emigrant guides even showed that England could capitalize on America's taking over western lands. With Yankees quitting good jobs in Atlantic cities and abandoning rich farms in the Old Northwest, larger numbers of British emigrants could replace the westward-bound natives.¹²⁹

FOREIGN AND TERRITORIAL EMIGRATION POLICY AFTER MID-1846

No doubt before 1846 the Foreign Office viewed the Oregon country with its Columbia and Fraser Rivers as more closely associated with Vancouver Island and the northern Pacific Coast than with California. Britain's Hudson's Bay Company was still the dominant authority in and nominal suzerain over the Pacific Northwest. Nevertheless, few parties of British subjects as yet hoped to settle in such an isolated land. The one significant exception was the British Mormons. As already shown, the Latter-day Saints proposed that the government help to transport and locate them on the Pacific Coast in a manoeuvre to forestall United States' ambitions and to counterbalance the growing American migration to the Oregon territory. In 1846 they petitioned Queen Victoria for assistance to go to Oregon or Vancouver Island, and in April 1847 the English saints were told by their leaders that Vancouver was the gathering place for all Mormons, and that they should prepare to go there and not to any other spot in North America. Later the same year, however, the Great Salt Lake Valley was fixed upon as the new Zion, and after 1847 Mormon emigration officials only occasionally showed interest in the Pacific Coast.

The Latter-day Saints' proposals were unusual as few Britons had thought about settlement in the Pacific Northwest before 1846. *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review* could write as late as 1849 that until recently Vancouver Island has been 'completely unknown in England'.¹³⁰ The island, however, had for several years been of moment to the Hudson's Bay Company. After the English supply ship bound for Fort Vancouver had on two successive years been wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia River, and the supply of furs had begun to decline, the company officials began to consider moving the headquarters. They at first considered the Puget's Sound region, but in 1837 a party was sent to study the southern end of Vancouver Island. After Governor Simpson had approved the new site, James Douglas was directed in 1842 to make a careful preliminary survey of the area, and the following year he

returned to actually construct the station. Consequently, in June 1846 when the international boundary line was finally drawn, the headquarters for the Hudson's Bay Company as well as the foundation for a great empire had already been laid.

George Canning, while Foreign Minister in the 1820's, had seen the desirability of British ownership of the north Pacific coastline, and its important link in the trans-Pacific trade. Some two decades later, Canning's ideas were given practical adaptation when Sir Richard Broun suggested that a railway connect the British possessions on the Pacific Coast with the Atlantic seaboard. In January 1845 Sir Richard (who also renewed the claims of the Scottish baronets to Nova Scotia) proposed the trans-continental line in his correspondence with Dr. Thomas Rolph and in conversations with several London businessmen.¹³¹ Emigration was deemed a necessity in order to advance certain fields of British trade. The Far East and the islands of the Pacific were to be tied commercially to Canada, and thereby to Britain by the settlement of the Pacific West. Numerous writers like F. A. Wilson, A. B. Richards, J. J. Sturz, John Crawford, and Charles MacKay reworked and refined the earlier plans. But despite the various proposals, it eventually fell to the only established organization in the region, the Hudson's Bay Company, to conduct the British emigration.

Less than three months after the Washington treaty of June 1846 designated the forty-ninth parallel, exclusive of Vancouver Island, as the British-American boundary, Sir J. H. Pelly, chairman of the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote to Earl Grey suggesting that as the company already had a settlement on Vancouver, it be allowed to take possession of adjacent lands on the island.¹³² Negotiations proceeded quietly until James Edward FitzGerald, a Wakefieldian, started a campaign against the grant. FitzGerald, as a cousin of Godley, an assistant curator at the British Museum, and a fiery Irishman whose venturesome nature led him to contemplate emigration to Vancouver, was a pamphleteer of no mean ability. Inasmuch as a stable agricultural economy would conflict with and endanger the company's primary pursuit of fur trading, FitzGerald believed that the Hudson's Bay interests had no wish to colonize, but in fact were devoted to preventing it. He argued that the Puget's Sound Agricultural Association had mistreated the English, Scottish, and French migrants it had brought over the mountains from Canada. Only a free, governmentally fostered colony could, in FitzGerald's

opinion, attract emigrants and make rapid progress in the arts of civilization.¹³³

It was pointed out that American steamers, under contract with the United States Government to carry mail between Panama and the Columbia River, soon would be ready to go into service. The steamers were to use 15,000 to 20,000 tons of coal per year which a New York commercial house had offered to purchase from an English company. Supposedly an additional 2,000 tons of coal were needed annually by steamers operated by the Pacific Steam Navigation Company along the coast of South America.¹³⁴ The British fleet also required large quantities of coal in the Pacific area. Fitzgerald originated the idea and partially detailed a plan whereby he would lease the mines of Vancouver Island and prepare the region for a mass emigration of British miners. Correspondence was conducted between Fitzgerald and the Colonial Office, but actual negotiation was not attempted.¹³⁵

With Lord Lincoln, Sir William Molesworth, and Joseph Hume also opposing the grant, the issue was carried to the House of Commons where Gladstone led the attack upon the Colonial Department. Complaints of maladministration from the Red River territory, which the company had administered since the thirties, were cited as reasons for refusing to give the company influence over another North American settlement. In spite of the fact that Gladstone charged that colonization, if conducted by such inappropriate means, would become a 'byword' and a 'farce', a resolution to disallow the grant was defeated seventy-six to fifty-eight in the Commons, and Grey proceeded to complete the arrangements with the company in January 1849.¹³⁶

The Hudson's Bay interests, of course, had many friends who quickly explained that only through company assistance could emigrants afford to travel the great distance to so remote a region. Montgomery Martin, onetime editor of *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial Maritime Journal*, showed that the charter issued by the government for the company's handling of the island ensured a substantial emigration.¹³⁷ Acting upon the charter's requirements, the company began to advertise rather widely for prospective Vancouver settlers. The economic, climatic, political, and social attractions of the area were discussed; copies of the company's prospectus were sent to anyone upon request; and liberal terms for travel and settlement were offered. But despite the extra large amount of emigration about mid-century, very little interest was

stimulated in the region. This perhaps was because of FitzGerald's active campaign to discredit the company's emigration policy.

While Grey was scathingly attacked as an opponent of colonization and a subservient tool of the Hudson's Bay Company, the understanding he reached with the organization actually was favourable to emigration. Probably few of the British people would have agreed with FitzGerald in calling Vancouver Island 'the British Isles of America', 'another Venice', or 'gateway to America'; few seriously considered the British Northwest in 1847-48 as a great emigration field. And while the Wakefieldians did not approve of the grant, the agreement did contain some of their earmarks. The company was to sell lands at the rather high upset price of twenty shillings per acre to persons desiring to settle on the island, and the whole income from lands sold, plus receipts from all mines, minus 10 per cent which was to be given to the company to cover any expenses and as a profit, was to be applied to colonization. Every two years the company was to certify the number of settlers located, and what lands had been disposed of, and if the company did not establish a colony within five years, the crown could revoke the charter and repossess the island.¹³⁸

The company for a while imposed an obligation that all purchasers of land introduce additional emigrants before they received the deed to their property; however, the requirement was revoked for small purchasers of 100 acres or less in 1853 as no colony had been established, and the association had to get settlers hurriedly or be liable for the cancellation of its contract by the government. By 1852 only eleven persons had bought land; and nineteen others made application for it; while only 435 emigrants had been conducted to Vancouver Island.¹³⁹

Coal miners composed a fairly large segment of the non-agricultural emigrants brought out by the company. The Scotsman Muir with his family and a small party of Scottish miners arrived in September 1849; while in 1851 twenty-five Englishmen with equipment were sent out to develop further the rather crudely operated mines.¹⁴⁰ By 1857 the emigration programme of the Hudson's Bay Company had obviously and admittedly proved a failure. In that year a House of Commons committee, while suggesting that the company's settlement activities in the territories of the Red and Saskatchewan Rivers be opened to careful scrutiny, asked that Vancouver Island be immediately withdrawn from the organization's control. Therefore, late in 1857, negotiations were

started between the company and the government to determine the terms under which the island would be returned to the crown.¹⁴¹ The fur traders claimed that they had spent over £80,000 in sending out settlers and miners for which they had received nothing in return; and in November 1858 they calculated that the government should reimburse them to the amount of £25,550 for transport and maintenance of emigrants during the period 1849-57. The Colonial Office with the approval of the emigration commissioners agreed to the estimate.¹⁴²

In the meantime, British Columbia had become an active emigration field. Gold had been discovered on the Fraser River in the summer of 1856, and by 1858 a rather large influx of prospectors was under way. The Hudson's Bay Company which had taken a lease on the lands west of the Rockies promptly released them to the crown, and James Douglas, their chief factor and also Governor of Vancouver Island, was appointed by the crown as temporary governor, and in 1858 as the first Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. The emigration commissioners quickly prepared recommendations to facilitate transport to and the settlement of the new province. The proposals served as a basis for Colonial Office directives to Douglas, and resulted in the maintenance of a liberal settlement policy.

During the late fifties the Foreign Office became particularly anxious that a more ambitious plan for the conveyance and location of British citizens in the region be arranged, but the Colonial Office and emigration commissioners declared that the great distance involved and the lack of available funds made governmentally financed emigration impossible. Thereupon the Foreign Office attempted to by-pass the Colonial Office, and devised its own scheme whereby twenty-five acres of land were to be given to male settlers. The plan which was little more than a revision and liberalization of the old land grant system was intended to encourage emigration, but was later negated by the colonial secretary.¹⁴³

Although the number of persons taken to Vancouver Island by the Hudson's Bay Company had been small, they had laid the foundation for a more extensive society. And even FitzGerald and his friends, by their repeated public utterances, had for the first time brought the region to the attention of prospective emigrants. The general development of the Pacific Coast, and more pointedly the

Fraser River gold discoveries, led the Colonial Office by 1860 to classify the British Northwest as one of Britain's important emigration fields.

SUMMATION

In their policy towards emigration the governments of early Victorian England, whether aristocratic Whig or *laissez-faire* Liberal, conservative Tory or moderate Peelite, had two widely divergent and distinct groups of critics. The first group, born in the backwash and chaos wrought by the Industrial Revolution, harassed by unemployment and crop failures, and vaguely cognizant of the political and social handicaps common to their class, desperately maintained that official aid could transport them to a rich, fair, and happy continent. Theoretical pettifogging or mental gymnastics were not important to the poor. And although more sophisticated elements of the British society did point to the humanitarian, economic, and political advantages of emigration, it was the need to remove unemployment, misery, idleness, and turmoil that stimulated the demands for official action. However, neither the arguments to preserve the empire, prevent revolution, and revive business nor the scores of memorials soliciting personal emigration assistance appreciably altered the official policies.

Influence exerted on the government by the dying Radical Party and the Wakefieldians was of a more involved and less easily defined character. In one respect, the Wakefieldians were united in working towards their paramount objective of systematic emigration and responsible government for the colonies, but their individuality of method and eccentric temperament weakened their already somewhat unpopular programme. The contributions of the Colonial Reformers to the bringing of responsible government to British North America cannot be denied. But as the British ceased to think of the empire as a compact unit, and began to view it as a complex of sister nations, systematic emigration became less likely. In fact, responsible government and systematic emigration were antithetical concepts. As the colonies gained responsible government and moved away from mother-country supervision, they created immigration services to meet their own needs, and often those were not in harmony with the imperialistic requirements inherent in Wakefield's systematic programme.

For four years prior to 1839 the Colonial Office had been managed first by the feeble and lethargic Lord Glenelg, and later by the

inefficient and dilatory Lord Normanby. In September 1839 Lord Russell was chosen for the post. He accepted neither the schemes of the Wakefieldians nor the philosophy that the government should detach itself from the problems of the empire. He, like Grey a few years later, accepted his responsibility and performed his duty. Geography impeded or precluded a private emigration to the South Pacific; therefore, the government rather hesitantly assisted in the sending out of emigrants. For the thousands going to North America, emigration information and travelling protection were offered. These services were rendered by the establishment of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission. But the carefully controlled aid, the issuing of accurate information, and the checking of emigrant ships did not meet the Wakefieldian demands for full-scale governmental entry into the emigration business. Lord Stanley, being lively in debate and diversified in interest, but unimaginative in colonial affairs, drifted through his secretaryship; however, he generally followed the emigration programme laid down by Russell. The five and one-half years of Earl Grey's tenure as Colonial Secretary represented a continuation and broadening of the Russell views.

The self-control achieved by British North America in the late forties, the renewed British prosperity of the early fifties, and the *laissez-faire* attitude which to many Englishmen meant colonial independence, led after 1852 to a drying up of requests for personal assistance, and a virtual cessation of proposals for officially controlled emigration. The freedom and individuality advocated by Cobden and Bright had in large part won; the implication was obvious; if Britain's role in history was to be a mother of nations, the United States answered that description as well as Canada.

Major international adjustments were being made during the 1840's in the Pacific coastal areas of California and Oregon. Since the national status of that vast territory was still in question, emigration could perform the invaluable imperialistic function of helping to determine its ultimate disposition. However, the British Government refused to direct and utilize its own emigrants for the purpose of empire building. It ignored the entreaties of English and Scottish traders and travellers, and even spurned the advice of its official representatives in Mexico and California. Earlier the Colonial Office had helped to settle small parties of emigrants in Canada particularly for the purpose of forestalling American aggression, and from 1830 to 1870 officials co-operated with certain Australian

provinces in semi-Wakefieldian emigration ventures. But western North America was too remote, lacked sufficient popularity, and involved too great a political and economic risk to tempt a quiescent government. While America was riding the wave of manifest destiny, Britain was absorbing the philosophy of *laissez-passer*; while the American dynamic underlined the Monroe Doctrine, Britain was developing a repugnance to the addition of new territory.

In January 1849 Lord Grey temporarily unburdened the Colonial Office of any responsibility it may have had in the settlement of the Pacific Coast area by giving to the Hudson's Bay Company the obligation for emigration promotion to the Vancouver region. Unquestionably, the very nature of the Hudson's Bay Company's activities rendered a large emigration to its territories something of an anathema, and the American precedent of rapid westward expansion discouraged many other British colonizers. The Manchester school, with their policy of free trade, argued that America was a better customer and provided Britain with a more lucrative business than the colonies; therefore, emigration to the republic and not the settlement of new areas should be encouraged.

Consequently, the emigration impulse of the British people continued to flow unrestricted and virtually undirected; the state did not wish to regulate the movement of its citizens in an effort to relieve distress at home, nor to restrain their independence in an effort to colonize more systematically abroad. Freedom not direction, service not *laissez-faire*, was its policy.

NOTES

¹ Although *laissez-faire* was never a dominant, and perhaps not even an operating, philosophy; and while in some instances it became a catch-phrase, a shibboleth and a cliché, it nevertheless epitomized a way of thinking and is herein used to stress the absence of a positive, incisive programme.

² The Highland emigration during the two decades prior to the Act had totalled about 12,000 persons. Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America, 1783-1837* (Toronto: Published by the Librarian, University of Toronto, 1928), p. 21.

³ Selkirk's second attempt at colonization proved to be less successful than his first. In 1811 he sent Scottish farmers to the Red River country, but within four years many of the migrants had abandoned the settlement.

⁴ Norman Macdonald, *Canada, 1763-1841, Immigration and Settlement* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939), p. 135. Talbot later conducted many parties of Irish to his Canadian estates.

⁵ Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn, in 1816, persuaded soldiers stationed in Canada to accept grants of land near the Ottawa River, but the settlements were generally unsuccessful. Hitchens, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁶ Cowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-76. In 1820-21 emigration societies representing the depressed handloom weavers of southern Scotland secured an agreement with the government, whereby

land was granted to them, and upon their settling near Perth, Canada, supplies were sold them at a reduced price. Over 3,000 representatives of the trade emigrated in the two years.

⁷ Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–32.

⁸ Alexander Mackay, *op. cit.*, II, 271. Also see Samuel Laing, Jun., *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁹ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 13 (January 15, 1842), 4–5.

¹⁰ James Silk Buckingham, *National Evils and Practical Remedies with the Plan of a Model Town* (London: Peter Jackson, the late Fisher, Son & Co., 1849), pp. 391–400.

¹¹ John Crawford, *Social Science*. A lecture on land and money; emigration and colonization; and reform of our money laws (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1861), pp. 15–17.

¹² *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 13 (January 15, 1842), 5.

¹³ Carlyle, *Past and Present*, p. 357. *The Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 231 (May 6, 1843), 275. Godley, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁴ *Convicts, Colonists and Colonies* (London: J. Bradley, 1850).

¹⁵ *Manchester Guardian* (Manchester), November 17, 1841. *The Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 149 (September 29, 1841), 609, and No. 157 (November 24, 1841), 737. *The Spectator* (London), No. 700 (November 27, 1841), 1138. Rawlings, *Emigration: An Address to the Clergy*, p. 3.

¹⁶ Torrens, *Letter to Lord Eliot*, p. 106. Torrens believed that the principles of Malthus and Ricardo had been projected to a ridiculous extreme and distorted in a way unacceptable to the economists. He was certain that they would have sanctioned emigration under prevailing conditions.

¹⁷ 'Emigration Should Be Promoted by Government', *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, I (1842), 301–304. John Crawford, *Employment for the Million, Emigration and Colonization* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., ca. 1842). Sidney's *Emigrant's Journal*, No. 24 (March 15, 1849). William Brown, *America: A Four Years' Residence in the United States and Canada* (Leeds: Kemplay & Balland, 1849), p. 98.

¹⁸ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 11 (January 1, 1842), 3. *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 36 (March 24, 1849), 544–45.

¹⁹ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LXIII, 1842, 482. 'Colonization: the Relief for National Distress', *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, VIII (1842), 129–32. In the spring of 1842 about one-seventh of the population of England was dependent upon some kind of eleemosynary relief.

²⁰ P. L. MacDougall, *Emigration: Its Advantages to Great Britain and Her Colonies* (London: T. & W. Boone, 1848), pp. 5–7. *The Times* (London), April 27, 1848.

²¹ *Competence in a Colony Contrasted with Poverty at Home* (London: John Murray, 1848), pp. 8–15. *The Disease and the Remedy* (London: John Oliver, 1849), p. 23. Kingston, *A Lecture on Colonization*, p. 21.

²² James Silk Buckingham, *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the other British Provinces in North America* (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1849), pp. 437–39.

Buckingham was a prolific planner of emigration schemes as well as a voluminous writer. In 1842 he had suggested that England, France, Austria, Prussia, and the United States all contribute four million pounds to a fund which would be used to transport Europeans to America. As Europe was over-crowded and America understocked with people, he thought the project would be of great advantage to all. Continental countries would furnish the food, clothing, and complete outfit for the emigrants, while England would provide a fleet of 500 ships to rendezvous off Brest and then rush across the Atlantic in one mighty swoop. Entering all American ports, the immigrants were to be transported inland and settled at the expense of the American national, state, and local governments. The usual reply to Buckingham's proposal explained that it was not to the interest of monarchies to strengthen and enrich the Republic of America. James Silk Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States of America* (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1842), II, 7–17.

²³ *A Plan for the Systematic Colonization of Canada* (London: Harchard & Son, 1850), pp. 13–54.

²⁴ 'Appropriation of Colonial Lands', *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, I (1842), 66–73. Charles Shaw, *An Extensive System of Emigration Considered* (2nd ed.; London: Effingham Wilson, 1848). D. S. Brown, *Colonization or a Project for Rendering Our Colonial Territories Accessible to the Population of the United Kingdom* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1852), pp. 5–7. *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 44 (May 19, 1849). 'National Parochial Colonization', *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, VI (1841), 145–52.

²⁵ 'Parochial System of Emigration', *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, III (July 1849–June 1850), 100–02. *The Times* (London), June 8, 1848.

An emigration association was formed by W. Barnett in the spring of 1858 with offices at 25 Philpot Lane, London, for the purpose of working with local authorities, and through combined philanthropic and official efforts, assisting families then on the poor rates to emigrate. *Canadian News and British American Intelligencer* (London), No. 49 (April 14, 1858), 114.

²⁶ Ratepayers were generally opposed to any additional levy for emigration purposes. For example, the official relief agency of Bradford appointed an emigration committee to study the local distress. After investigating the problem and receiving a large number of requests for emigration aid, the committee decided that such a policy was feasible. At a vestry meeting, the committee was tentatively granted a £2,000 appropriation to be taken from the current rates and used for emigration assistance. Later, however, the grant was nullified by the ratepayers who considered the using of any part of the poor rates for emigration impolitic. *Bradford Observer* (Bradford), January 6; January 13; February 17; March 2; and March 16, 1848.

²⁷ 'Distribution and Importance of Emigration', *The Eclectic Review*, New Series, XCIII (February 1851), 180. 'Emigration by Lot and Lottery', *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, I (1842), 269.

²⁸ *The Times* (London), January 22, 1848, p. 5.

²⁹ Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–52.

³⁰ *A Plan for the Systematic Colonization of Canada*, p. 7.

³¹ Sidney Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

³² Millington Henry Syngé, *Canada in 1848* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1848), p. 4.

³³ Simmond's *Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, XI (1847), iii.

³⁴ 'Canadian Affairs', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XVI (1849), 130–31. A few months later, in the same magazine, Kingston was forced to report, even though he belittled the news, that a few Canadian citizens had asked that Canada be annexed to the United States.

³⁵ Wilson and Richards, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–80. The authors further believed that though the United States separated into two countries, North and South, they would form an offensive alliance, and take Canada for the North and Mexico for the South.

³⁶ Sir Francis Bond Head, *The Emigrant* (6th ed.; London: John Murray, 1852), p. 189. Richard H. Bonnycastle, *Canada As It Was, Is, and May Be*, additions by James E. Alexander (London: Colburn & Co., 1852), II, 264. With Britain's abolition of colonial preference on wheat, flour, and lumber in the latter forties, it appeared likely that Canadian financial interests would lead a movement for annexation to the United States.

³⁷ Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, II, 91–92 and 295. It was later pointed out that the railway creating an outlet for Canada at Boston, and similar business relationships, would bring about the melioration of rivalry and prejudice between the two countries, and direct American aggressiveness into more peaceful economic channels. 'Railway Jubilee in America', *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, XVII, No. 422 (January 31, 1852), 75–77.

³⁸ *The Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 149 (September 29, 1841), 609. Rev. Joseph Abbott, *The Emigrant to North America from Memoranda of a Settler in Canada* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1844), pp. 100–01.

³⁹ 'Emigration', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XVIII (1850), 499.

⁴⁰ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Report to Colonial Office from Agent-General for Emigration, 1838*, XL (388). This report gives a brief history of the governmental emigration activities. At that time, emigration officers were stationed at Liverpool, London, Bristol, Leith, and Grennock.

⁴¹ A. C. Buchanan, who served for over three decades as immigrant receiving agent and furnished unusually thorough and authoritative accounts, was chosen by Colonial Secretary Huskisson in 1828 to go to Quebec to help regulate emigration. His salary of £300 per annum, raised to £400 in 1832, was defrayed from the colonial land and timber fund, and while directly responsible to the Colonial Office, his reports were transmitted through the Governor-General.

⁴² Wrong, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁴³ The Earl of Durham, *The Report on the Affairs of British North America* (London: J. W. Southgate, 1839), pp. 88–112.

⁴⁴ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), XLVIII, 1839, 841–919.

Charles Buller and Smith O'Brien warmly favoured Ward's motion; Lord Howick, stating that the ideas were good, but that the government should not act, straddled the issue. Only a few days after Ward withdrew his petition, Sir Robert Wilmont-Horton presented a

measure calling for the appointment of a select committee to consider emigration and colonization. No action was taken.

⁴⁵ This was indicated, according to Professor Egerton, by his establishment of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission a few months later, and by his instructions given to Poulett Thompson, Lord Durham's successor in Canada. Hugh E. Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1928), p. 305.

⁴⁶ The South Australia Commission had been another Wakefieldian venture spearheaded by Colonel Robert Torrens. A bill (4 & 5 Will. IV, c. 95) allowing for the appointment of emigration commissioners for south Australia was pushed through Parliament in 1834. The proceeds from a fund created by the sale of lands at 20s. or more per acre was to be used to emigrate Britons. The commissioners, serving as an intermediary agency between south Australian officials and the Colonial Office, were also permitted to borrow, for emigration purposes, up to £50,000 upon the credit of land sales. With the virtual failure of the experiment by 1840, dissolution of the commission and absorption of its duties by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission was accomplished without difficulty. Hitchins, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-31 and 37-42.

⁴⁷ Vernon Smith, who replaced Henry Labouchere as Parliamentary Under Secretary for the Colonies at the same time that Russell took over the Colonial Department, energetically supported the formation of the new commission.

⁴⁸ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Lords*, Appointment of the Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1840, VII (30).

Although the commissioners took over the duties of the South Australian Colonization Commission, only two years later, in 1842, south Australia was converted into a regularly administered colony. Specific emigration activity in respect to that settlement, therefore, was discontinued.

⁴⁹ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Lords*, Appointment of the Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1840, VII (30), 3.

⁵⁰ *The Colonial Gazette* was published at the office of *The Spectator*, and had strong Wakefieldian views.

⁵¹ Buller, *Responsible Government for Colonies*. For a better understanding of Sir James Stephen, and a clear demonstration that he was not, as Buller thought, a petty, hidebound, narrow-minded, anti-colonial official see the articles by Paul Knaplund in *The Journal of Modern History*, I, No. 1 (March 1929), and *The Canadian Historical Review*, V, No. 1 (March 1924). Stephen was Permanent Under Secretary from 1836 to 1847; upon retiring from government work, he became Professor of Modern History in Cambridge University.

⁵² Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LIX, 1840, 831-94.

⁵³ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Emigration: Correspondence Relative to the Colonial Land and Emigration Board, 1840, XXXIII (613).

Starting with the depressed times of 1837, letters mostly from ex-service men asking if they were eligible for land grants in Canada began to flood the Colonial Office. The Royal Hospital at Chelsea received so many queries asking whether pensions would be paid to veterans who emigrated to Canada, that a regular answer form was printed. C.O. 384/51, Emigration: North American Settlers, 1837-38.

In one memorial from the Glasgow Committee on Highland Distress, the number of destitute in that area was estimated to be 150,000, and the expense of emigrating them computed at £1,000,000. During 1840 and 1841 petitions asking assistance to emigrate were presented to Parliament and the Colonial Office from scores of individuals and emigration societies. Glasgow alone was represented by the Protestant Emigration Society of Glasgow, the North Quarter Glasgow Emigration Society, the Central Emigration Society of Glasgow, the Glasgow Wesleyan Emigration Society, the First Glasgow Protestant Canadian Emigration Society, and the Glasgow East Quarter, Calton and Mile-End Emigration Society. C.O. 384/61, Emigration: North America, 1840; and C.O. 384/67, Emigration: North America, 1841.

⁵⁴ Lord Durham had said that 60 per cent of the emigrants who went to Canada eventually moved on to the United States.

⁵⁵ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Emigration: Copies of Reports from Agent General, 1839, XXXIX, Part I (536), 31.

⁵⁶ Small parties of emigrants had been taken out by the company in 1836, but many of the Scottish settlers from Glenelg and Glengarry died during the first winter. In 1837 about thirty English and Scottish families from the bank of the Tweed arrived at Fredericton, New Brunswick. They were disappointed with the opportunities offered by the company and applied to the Lieutenant-Governor for assistance in finding a desirable settlement. The

legislature voted to survey public lands for the immigrants and eventually they were advanced provisions and tools by the local government. By 1844 they had paid off their indebtedness and were prospering. James Brown, *op. cit.*

The select committee studying emigration in Scotland in 1841 found that the company had taken out many families from the Arisaig and Moidart areas of Inverness-shire and the Isle of Skye in late 1840, and that other families were anxiously awaiting for the company's agent to return so that they might go. *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, First Report from the Select Committee on Emigration; Scotland, 1841, VI (182), 83.*

A pamphlet published by the company in 1843 stated that the emigrants from along the Tweed had prospered. The town of Wooler, Northumberland, seemed to have been the centre of the English movement; however, a few from Durham and others from as far south as Doncaster, Manchester, and even Nottinghamshire also went out under the auspices of the company. Business and emigration increased during the early forties. The company sold 1,500 acres to 15 buyers in 1840; 2,700 acres to 18 buyers in 1841; and 5,195 acres to 40 buyers in 1842. Land sales decreased in 1843 although the company's emigration movement had spread to Cheshire and the west country. *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Advocate* (London), No. 76 (April 1, 1843), 6-7.

⁵⁷ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Lords, Address from Upper Canada Imploring Her Majesty's Government to Promote Emigration, 1840, VII (127), 3-4. Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 286-99.*

⁵⁸ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Emigration: Correspondence Relative to the Colonial Land and Emigration Board, 1840, XXXIII (613), 59-62.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Eighth General Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1847-48, XXVI (961), 14. *Ibid.*, Papers Relative to Emigration to the North American Colonies, 1854, XLVI (1763), 42.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Emigration: Correspondence Relative to the Colonial Land and Emigration Board, 1840, XXXIII (613), 86-87.

⁶¹ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LVI, 1841, 514-25. Even the strongly Wakefieldian *Colonial Gazette* did not approve of the Baillie motion, and contended that the colonies should not 'be a receptacle of so many ruined kelpmakers'. *The Colonial Gazette* (London), No. 117 (February 17, 1841), 98-99.

⁶² *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Second Report from the Select Committee on Emigration; Scotland, 1841, VI (333), iii-iv.*

⁶³ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 7 (December 4, 1841), 4-5. *The Times* (London), December 1, 1841, p. 6.

⁶⁴ *The Times* (London), December 1, 1841, p. 6. *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 7 (December 4, 1841), 4-5.

⁶⁵ C.O. 384/67, Emigration: North America, 1841.

⁶⁶ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LX, 1842, 76-94.

⁶⁷ In early 1842 copies of a joint petition from seven emigration societies of Paisley were presented to Parliament, as well as to the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham. There were also memorials from the West-Broomlands Emigration Society of Paisley, the Emigration Society of the City of Paisley, and the Central Emigration Society of Paisley. C.O. 384/69, Emigration: North America, 1842.

⁶⁸ Monica Glory Page, 'A Study of Emigration from Great Britain, 1802-1860' (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1931), p. 79.

⁶⁹ *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide* (London), No. 11 (January 1, 1842), 4-5.

⁷⁰ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LXII, 1842, 811-12.

⁷¹ Crawford, *Employment for the Million* (entire pamphlet). *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, I (1842), 222-23. *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Advocate* (London), No. 58 (November 21, 1842), 5.

⁷² *The Emigration Gazette and Colonial Advocate* (London), No. 73 (March 11, 1843), 6. C.O. 384/74, Emigration: North America, 1843.

⁷³ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LXVIII, 1843, 498.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 500.

Printed and read by an estimated 100,000 people, Buller's speech became the basis for much emigration activity. It apparently helped stimulate the businessmen of London to address a memorial to the government in which they ask that emigration be considered as a possible relief for the distress. 'Emigration and Colonization', *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, III (1843), 171.

⁷⁵ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LXXI, August 15, 1843, 762-92.

⁷⁶ Intermittently Russell, Roebuck, Hume, and others of the opposition attack the officials for not promoting responsible government, or systematic emigration; however, the remarks were more political manoeuvres than fundamental differences in principle. Even when Lord Lyttleton, advocate of greater freedom for the colonies, became Colonial Under Secretary in early 1846 while his brother-in-law, W. E. Gladstone, was Secretary, little change in policy resulted. Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, LXXXVIII, 1846, 714. Colin T. Campbell, 'Lord John Russell's Proposition Respecting a Systematic Plan of Colonization', *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, V (1845), 157-60. 'Lord Lyttleton on the Colonies', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XVIII (1850), 239-44.

⁷⁷ Henry George Grey (Earl Grey), *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration* (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), I, 239-44. C.O. 384/79, Emigration: North America, 1847.

⁷⁸ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Emigration to British North America, 1847, XXXIX [777], 3-6; and Seventh General Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1847, XXXIII [809], 56-57.

⁷⁹ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), XC, 1847, 837-61.

⁸⁰ The Provost and Chief Magistrate of Aberdeen, the district of Glenelg in Inverness-shire, the Board of Guardians for the Union of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and the Parish of Marylebone, were representative of the local bodies which requested governmental aid in emigration. C.O. 384/81, Emigration: North America, 1848. C.O. 384/83, Emigration: North America, 1849. *The Times* (London), June 5, 1848, p. 3. Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), CXI, 1850, 433.

⁸¹ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), XCII, 1847, 1369-450; and XCIII, 1847, 108-16.

⁸² C. E. Carrington, *John Robert Godley of Canterbury* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1950), p. 39.

⁸³ Wrong, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59.

⁸⁴ For a thorough discussion of the negotiations see W. F. Morrell, *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1930), pp. 436-42.

⁸⁵ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Report on the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 1851, XXVI, 1395.

⁸⁶ 14 & 15 Vict., c. 91. Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), CXVIII, 1851, 1929.

⁸⁷ *Society for the Promotion of Colonization* (London: Richards, printer, 1849). Frances Scott, M.P., *Colonial Inquiry. Speech of the Honourable Francis Scott, M.P., on Moving the Appointment of a Select Committee* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1849). 'Emigration of the Poor', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XVI (1849), 389.

⁸⁸ 'The Society for the Reform of Colonial Government', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XVIII (1850), 83-88. The society was formed of Tories like Walpole, Napier, and Baring; free traders like Cobden, Hume, and Molesworth; plus colonial enthusiasts like Lyttleton, Adderley, and Godley.

⁸⁹ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), CXLI, 1856, 1010; CXLVI, 1857, 909; CLV, 1859, 529; CLX, 1860, 1366.

⁹⁰ 43 Geo. III, c. 56. For a discussion of the British Passenger Acts from 1800 to 1870, see Hitchins, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-58.

⁹¹ 57 Geo. III, c. 10. 4 Geo. IV, c. 84.

⁹² 6 Geo. IV, c. 105 & c. 116. 7 & 8 Geo. IV, c. 19. 9 Geo. IV, c. 21.

⁹³ 5 & 6 Will. IV, c. 53.

⁹⁴ Amendments were made in 1842 (5 & 6 Vict., c. 107) and 1847 (10 & 11 Vict., c. 103).

⁹⁵ 11 & 12 Vict., c. 6. 12 & 13 Vict., c. 33.

⁹⁶ 14 & 15 Vict., c. 1. In 1860 the British merchant marine consisted of 2,000 steamers totalling 400,000 tons as compared with 25,000 sailing vessels totalling 4,000,000 tons; steam tonnage caught up with sail tonnage in 1883; but since steamships were larger than the sail craft it was 1904 before the former equalled the latter in number.

⁹⁷ 15 & 16 Vict., c. 44. British shipowners, and especially the Glasgow and Liverpool shipowners' associations, kept up a steady correspondence with the government in an effort to get a more lenient, rather than a more restrictive, regulation. For some of the more interesting correspondence see C.O. 384/89, Emigration: General, Miscellaneous, 1852; and C.O. 384/95, Emigration: General, Public Offices and Individuals, 1855.

⁹⁸ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Report from the Select Committee on Emigration Ships, 1854, XIII (163); and Second Report (349). 18 & 19 Vict., c. 119.

⁹⁹ F.O. 5/593, America: From Mr. Crampton, January-February 1854. Sarah Maury, in 1845-46, had talked with Secretary of State Buchanan, Secretary of Treasury Walker,

and President Polk, as well as with numerous other governmental, legislative, municipal, and religious officials in the United States in an attempt to get America to legislate on the emigrant passenger ship problem. All had been courteous, but reluctant to act. Maury, *An Englishwoman in America*, Part II.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Glass Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), pp. 177-79.

¹⁰¹ John W. Caughey, *California* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), pp. 204 and 240-41.

¹⁰² F.O. 5/388, America: Domestic Various, June-July 1842. See Joseph Schafer, 'Documents—Letters of Sir George Simpson, 1841-1843', *The American Historical Review*, XIV, No. 1 (October 1908), 89.

¹⁰³ Irving B. Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), p. 300.

¹⁰⁴ It was not uncommon among the islands of Scotland where fuel was extremely scarce for the inhabitants to live on raw sea life.

¹⁰⁵ Alexander Forbes, *California: A History of Upper and Lower California* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1839), pp. 314 and 321.

¹⁰⁶ 'History of Upper and Lower California', *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, I (1840), 108.

¹⁰⁷ Herman Merivale, *Introduction to a Course of Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1839), p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World* (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), I, 408-09. Simpson first made the proposal in 1841, but the idea was not a new one as a former American resident of California, named Warner, had written a narrative accusing the British of the scheme. He had stressed the opinion that if Britain got California the United States was sure to lose Oregon. *The Colonial Magazine*, accepting Warner's logic, explained to the British public that if Oregon was to be saved, British settlement in California must be made immediately. 'California and Oregon', *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, V (1841), 229-36.

¹⁰⁹ Richman, *op. cit.*, p. 296. By 1844 Rae was actively intriguing in the province, and presumably had furnished arms and money for the expulsion of the Mexicans.

¹¹⁰ Schafer, 'Document', *The American Historical Review*, XIV, No. 1 (October 1908), 89.

¹¹¹ F.O. 50/136, Mexico: Pakenham to Palmerston, July 1840. Caughey, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

¹¹² F.O. 50/146, Mexico: From Mr. Pakenham, August 1841.

¹¹³ F.O. 5/391, America: From Mr. Fox, January-March 1843.

¹¹⁴ F.O. 50/172, Mexico: To Mr. Bankhead, January-December 1844.

¹¹⁵ F.O. 50/179, Mexico: To Mr. Barron, December 1844.

¹¹⁶ F.O. 50/186, Mexico: From Mr. Bankhead, July-December 1845.

¹¹⁷ Cleland, *op. cit.*, p. 202. Caughey, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

¹¹⁸ F.O. 5/485, America: From Mr. Crampton, April-May 1848.

The British minister in Washington, Crampton, under specific directions from the Foreign Office, contradicted the statements made by Senator Dix and other persons in the United States who had charged Great Britain with improperly interfering in the territorial questions under discussion between the United States and Mexico. Crampton also was directed to explain that Great Britain had taken no action to secure Mexican land grants which were then within the borders of Texas, 'or to acquire any footing in California'. F.O. 5/483, America: To Mr. Crampton, January-December 1848.

¹¹⁹ F.O. 50/197, Mexico: Bankhead to Aberdeen, May 1846.

¹²⁰ 'Upper California', *Simmonds' Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, IV (1845), 166.

¹²¹ George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931), p. 120.

¹²² Oscar O. Winther, *The Great Northwest* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), p. 81.

¹²³ Arthur Redford, *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade*, pp. 225-26.

¹²⁴ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), pp. 134-36.

¹²⁵ F.O. 5/423, America: To Mr. Pakenham, January-December 1845.

¹²⁶ F.O. 5/430, America: From Mr. Pakenham, December 1845. F.O. 5/442, America: Domestic, Various, July-December 1845.

¹²⁷ Thomas Rolph, 'Our Claim to the Oregon', *Simmonds' Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, VII (1846), 484.

¹²⁸ Maury, *The Statesmen of America*, pp. 301–02.

¹²⁹ *Guide to California* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1849).

¹³⁰ 'The Hudson's Bay Company and Vancouver's Island', *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, XVI (1849), 246–60.

¹³¹ 'Colonial Railway Movements in British America, and New Beauharnois Job', *Simmonds' Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, XI (1847), 485.

¹³² James Edward FitzGerald, 'Vancouver's Island, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Government', *Simmonds' Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, XV (1848), 81–85.

¹³³ James Edward FitzGerald, *An Examination of the Charter and Proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company, with Reference to the Grant of Vancouver's Island* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1849), pp. 1–4. James Edward FitzGerald, 'Vancouver Island—The New Colony', *Simmonds' Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, XIV (1848), 419–33.

Apparently it was John Godley, FitzGerald's close friend, who urged him to oppose the grant. Later they both emigrated to New Zealand. The Earl of Lincoln kept the subject before the House of Commons by asking the government for information on the Hudson's Bay Company's handling of the Red River settlement. Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), C, 1848, 469 and 510.

¹³⁴ The Pacific Steam Navigation Company was a British concern operating out of Lima, Peru.

¹³⁵ Shipbuilders and commercial men like Samuel Cunard strongly supported the proposition that coal mines on Vancouver Island be reserved to the crown.

¹³⁶ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), CI, 1848, 278, 304–05.

¹³⁷ Montgomery Martin, *The Hudson's Bay Territories and Vancouver's Island* (London: T. & W. Boone, 1849), p. 150.

¹³⁸ C.O. 386/83, North America, September 1847–December 1856.

¹³⁹ *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, Vancouver Island, 1852–53, LXV (83). Morrell, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

¹⁴⁰ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Bancroft's Works*, XXXII, *History of British Columbia, 1792–1887* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1887), pp. 193–95.

¹⁴¹ Negotiations proceeded slowly; it was not until April 1867 that the emigration commissioners completed the agreement and a deed was signed returning Vancouver Island to the crown.

¹⁴² Hugh E. Egerton, *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1908), V, Part II, 255. C.O. 384/84, North America, January 1857–December 1859.

¹⁴³ C.O. 384/84, North America, January 1857–December, 1859.

EMIGRATION: PRACTICE AND THEORY

G. M. TREVELYAN has said, 'The terrible pace at which the world now jolts and clanks along was set in our island, where, first, invention was harnessed to organized capital'.¹ It is perhaps impossible to determine the extent to which this revolution in the production of *matériel* was responsible for the great British migrations of the nineteenth century. But it is pertinent to remember that as Britain was transmitting ideas on political and industrial economy to North America, she was also transmitting much of her brain and sinew to the same area. The physical exports of manufactured goods and investment capital as well as the less tangible exports of financial organization and industrial knowledge were neither more significant nor more complex than the export of human beings. The whole combined to affix a set of tastes and to implant a set of principles which have indelibly etched their features upon the moral, social, political, and cultural physiognomy of North America, if not upon civilization itself. Both the economic and the human movements were infinitely important not only to the receiver, the viewpoint from which immigration usually has been considered, but also to the sender. A survey of the underlying dynamic which induced so many people to rather readily leave their homeland, but very rarely desert their customs, ideas, and standards perhaps can contribute to a better understanding of the changing and formative years bridging the mid-nineteenth century.

From 1815 to the economic prosperity of the mid-1850's contemporaries recorded the hardships which panics and depressions were inflicting upon a large segment of the population; and all but a self-complacent few admitted that the many labourers seeking employment exceeded the number of jobs available. Plans for unemployment relief were manifold. Many were designed for selfish ends, some were chimerical and Utopian, and most were only temporary expedients. The Malthusian solution, whereby the population would be reduced by wars, plagues, and a restricted birth rate, had never been a truly popular philosophy, and after the 1830's counted for little more than an academic conjecture. Extensive land

settlement and cultivation within Britain, repeal of the Corn Laws, the Chartist movement, vegetarian societies, temperance leagues, and co-operative settlements were among the more widely circulated propositions tendered to allay the unrest. Reducing the plethora of surplus workers by emigration and colonization evolved as an ostensibly reasonable, if somewhat desperate, approach to a problem not satisfactorily answered by any of the other suggestions or experiments.

Emigration had a broad appeal: first, it was examined by tens of thousands who pondered the simple alternatives of hunger at home or plenty abroad, and secondly, it was considered as a theoretical formula and debated by many who had not been, and did not plan to go, beyond the British shore.

EMIGRATION AS A PRACTICAL MOVEMENT

As a practical movement emigration was almost entirely initiated, conducted, and sustained by the people themselves. It was a self-impelled, personally arranged, and individually financed adventure. Economic exigencies and the closely associated religious, political, and social dissatisfactions often led Britons to decide that North America with its liberal institutions, limitless wealth, familiar customs, and English tongue could provide them with a more fruitful life. Of course, groups occasionally banded together for mutual assistance or fashioned clubs to solicit outside contributions. Several parties were sponsored by local authorities while others were financed by philanthropic or humanitarian agencies. Persons sent out by parish guardians, paupers assisted to leave by the Scottish Highland landlords, societies formed by the labour unions for the carrying out of their surplus workers, children emigrated by Lord Ashley's Ragged School Union, transport costs paid by Francis Scott's Colonization Society, and the funds contributed for the passage of the distressed needlewomen of London substantially augmented the already large stream of self-sustained emigration.

Building upon the enthusiasm for emigration, North American agents for purposes of regional expansion, business profits, or personal aggrandizement, attempted to direct and channel Britons to particular areas and specific occupations in the western world. As Medea 'cast the dead limbs of old age into the boiling cauldron to emerge young and beautiful', so trans-Atlantic representatives prophesied that Britons need only cross a stormy ocean to emerge prosperous and satisfied. Newspapers and journals were founded,

emigration companies sprang up, and an extensive campaign was inaugurated to advertise North America's cheap, abundant, and fertile lands, and publicize her need for craftsmen, mechanics, and labourers. No political barriers obstructed the personal intercourse of Anglo-Americans, the ethnic character of the two countries was homogeneous, and the cost of travelling was not prohibitive. Indeed, it was an unusually auspicious era in the history of Anglo-Saxon migration. Britain did not object, but rather appeared content to see her subjects leave, and America did not protest, but at most times seemed pleased to note their arrival.

Quite naturally some emigrants were bitter and acrimonious towards a society that had failed to use their sinews or to absorb their talents; they, therefore, often gave vent to their spleen by ridiculing the officialdom. A poem by James Redfern depicted the inveterate disrespect for and lack of faith in the government.

Elated with hope, I contemplate a land,
Which oppression has never subdued;
A people who will not submit to the hand
Of a ruler despotic and rude.

There, there I still hope with the blessing of God!
To find an asylum of peace;
A happy retreat from grim tyranny's rod,
And from bondage a lasting release.

And oft I shall sigh, when I think of her [England's] fate,
When her Bulwarks no longer I view
When I think of the knaves at the Helm of the State
Who famish and butcher the crew.²

However, since most men think they know their own interests best and prefer to accept responsibility for their own destiny, the vast majority of nineteenth-century British emigrants asked for neither sympathy nor assistance, and left with neither rancour nor resentment. *The Poor British Emigrants' Farewell* was illustrative of that feeling.

From Albion's verdant vallies,
From Scotia's barren moors,
From Erin's flowing rivers
And her bold and rocky shores:
From the dark and crowded city—
From the hardness of the times—
(We ask not for your pity,)
But hie to other climes.

From want and from starvation,
From penury and pain,
We thus relieve our nation,
Nor will again complain.
We enter on our voyage,
And bid a glad adieu
To the factory and the forge,
As Britain fades from view.³

Detailed and overplayed newspaper descriptions of emotional emigrant farewells became so frequent that *Punch* could paraphrase the articles and poke fun at the Victorian sentimentality. 'Emigration. A dentist and family left their happy home last week to settle in one of the back shops in the interior of the Exeter 'Change Arcade. The scene at parting was heart-rending.'⁴ But for those hundreds of thousands who were actually contemplating the great voyage, a paragraph in *Hogg's Instructor* seemed more appropriate. 'Emigration is one of the grandest phenomena of this wonderful transitive age, and although making less noise, and awakening less interest than the revolutions of the nations, it is, nevertheless, one of the most revolutionary elements in the world.'⁵

A visitor to the Tate Gallery has no difficulty in catching the very personal and human aspects of emigration when he views Ford Madox Brown's pre-Raphaelite work, *The Last of England*. Boarding an emigrant ship to bid a friend good-bye, Brown was so impressed by the faces of those who were seeing their homeland for the last time that the sadness, expectancy, and determination on the countenances of one young couple became the subject for one of his best paintings, and serves as a reminder that the movement was one dreamed of, engaged in, and suffered by the common people.

In the mid-nineteenth-century era of *laissez-faire*, when economic and political individualism was little restrained, British emigrants were often misguided by Utopian idealists, deceived by unprincipled speculators, or over-anxiously sought more rewarding employment. Yet the number of emigrants victimized by traffickers in land or disappointed by the New World's immature institutions was not large, and the crude independence of the 1850's may appear less injurious and objectionable when compared with the prohibitions and restrictions of a century later.

The average British emigrant of the early Victorian years was an optimist, convinced that the future held rich rewards for him. He was an egoist, striving for fulfilment of his potential; and he had

a deep desire to own land, a characteristic that the centuries had instilled in his nature.

EMIGRATION AS A THEORETICAL ISSUE

Emigration had a quite different meaning for the thousands of British expatriates from what it had for philanthropists, colonizers, governmental officials, and others who thought of the movement as a plausible and pretty theory. In the final analysis the latter groups were inclined to be more concerned with personal aggrandizement, national prosperity, or imperial strength, and less solicitous of the welfare of the human beings involved. It was the use that was to be made of the completed edifice and not the disposition of individual bricks that absorbed the interest of planners and promoters.

Starting a campaign in the twenties, Robert Wilmont-Horton became the first leading exponent of emigration as a remedy for home destitution. But the notion was yet too novel, the manner of approach too blunt, and the numbers leaving too small for Sir Robert's impressions to generate anything more lasting than a precedent upon which future theorists could feed. The part prophet, part patriot, part philanderer, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, followed the Wilmont-Horton concepts, and eventually became the nineteenth century's leading publicizer and propagandizer of emigration. Wakefield brought the subject down into a closer and more personal relationship with real men and women, and at the same time elevated it into a branch of political economy. Since this new discipline was thought to incorporate some of the most penetrating ideas of the day, the subject of emigration thereby took on a respectable and often intellectualized character.

Systematic emigration was the objective of Wakefield and the Colonial Reformers. They believed that Britain was suffering from a superabundance of capital as well as labour, and that migration could provide an outlet for both. They reasoned that colonial settlers purchased British manufactures, supplied raw products, absorbed surplus wealth, and by creating miniature Englands throughout the world, answered Britain's imperial destiny. Appearing eminently judicious especially to those not planning to leave, many Parliamentary leaders of the dying Radical Party, like Lord Durham, Charles Buller, W. Smith O'Brien, Sir William Molesworth, and Henry George Ward, conscientiously advocated the system. After the dissolution of the Radical Party in the late

thirties, the majority of the Colonial Reformers became members of the free trade branch of the Whig Party, but the main body of the Manchester men did not reciprocate by supporting systematic emigration.

In addition to the Radicals, there were, of course, many free-lance emigrationists. The highly respected economist, Robert Torrens, was at the same time a vigorous disciple of Wakefield, and a sharp opponent of free trade. Emigration and colonial preference could be tools to give the empire greater strength and solidarity. Torrens not only opposed repeal of the Corn Laws, but actually envisaged a British Zollverein at a time when *laissez-faire* was rapidly becoming the economic theory *par excellence*. William Cobbett propounded emigration since he considered it the only escape from the carnivorous vampires who controlled the country's political institutions. Thomas Carlyle sanctioned escape from a society set on destroying its time-honoured lineaments by clutching for a smudged and fool-hardy materialism. And Richard Cobden and James Caird exalted America in an effort to fortify their financial investments. Ship-owners, outfitters, speculators, Scottish landlords, guardians of the poor, and frightened conservatives counselled emigration because it promised personal gain, national prosperity, reduction in the poor rates, or seemed a deterrent to political revolution.

There was, of course, much opposition to the outward rush of Britons, and especially to an officially supported programme. It sprang first from those who defended Malthus' calculations that removals would stimulate marriage and childbirth, and thereby more than fill the vacuum created by those who left; secondly, from Chartists and rabble rousers who told the lower classes that it was a heinous plot to get rid of the workers instead of correcting basic evils within the social system; thirdly, from English landlords and employers of large numbers of workers who generally deprecated the departure of their cheap labour supply; and fourthly, from a majority within the Whig and Tory Parties who were opposed to Whitehall becoming involved in any scheme so grandiose in outlook and so diametrically opposed to the traditional concepts of government.

AN EVALUATION

Considering the magnitude of the problem associated with the mass withdrawal of thousands of human beings, the emigration movement was most unscientifically planned. The British Empire

became one of the most extensive and unique political organizations of the nineteenth century, and the exodus from the British Isles to English-speaking areas composed the world's largest migrations of the period. But during the striking metamorphosis, the individuality and self-sufficiency of the people stood in favourable contrast to the performance of a somewhat dilatory and impotent officialdom.

It was often suggested that history proved emigration to be a natural function, and that when people were not interfered with, they migrated normally as local circumstances demanded. That emigration had been natural to barbarians was scarcely a convincing argument to offer to the subjects of a country which prided itself on being one of the foremost leaders of civilization. What could be the advantage of intellectual and industrial progress if such advancement could not meliorate the cruel exactions of a humdrum life confounded by a hungry stomach? And if Britons found it advisable to leave, why could they not be provided with a system of information, direction, and protection superior to that offered in ancient times? When the paternalistic, though civilizing factors of Church benevolence, landlord responsibility, and parish assistance were partially or totally liquidated by the industrial age, the officialdom too often avoided troublesome issues and ignored the human tragedies daily played out in the country's alleys, closes, and lanes.

Some students of emigration have labelled the governmental attitude as being from the very first 'feeble, vacillating, and ineffectual'. After Britain had 'conquered half the world in a fit of absence of mind, it peopled it in a mood of lazy indifference'.⁶ Such writers hold that *laissez-faire* was more an excuse for doing nothing than a guide to proper action. It is true that the doctrine of 'leave alone', the Wakefield and Torrens imperialism notwithstanding, did come to pervade and permeate the ministerial approach to the emigration topic.

The *laissez-faire* precepts, as presented by Bentham and accepted by the classical school, discouraged the government from becoming an inspector and barred it from becoming an initiator and promoter of the activities of society. There was a desperate need for a positive programme and a dynamic approach to the problems which so closely affected so many human beings. In failing to mature a deep and moving philosophy of action the officials were culpably negligent. While they were not administrative nihilists, they, nevertheless, had forgotten the Biblical injunction that 'where there is no vision the people perish'.⁷ Vision was lacking in the formulation of an

emigration creed based on the country's needs, and in the assumption of responsibility by Westminster for the protection and happiness of the departing Britons. Government, whether representative or responsible, should not be primarily an administrative, but rather a political, undertaking.

But conversely, a century later we have not found all the answers to the perplexities created by a mechanized milieu. Indeed, some students have held that the problems cannot be solved save by a complete reorganization of the social order or a regeneration of human nature. Nor was it only the adherence to a dogma of *laissez-faire* that shaped the hesitant official course. Despite remarkable achievements in colonization, it was not within the British tradition to actively foster emigration or colonization. The adoption of such a policy for the purpose of eliminating distress, unrest, and misery would have been an impolitic admission by any political party that it was incapable of grappling with a major domestic issue. No ministry could be expected to participate in the denuding of its own countryside, or so concede defeat that it would admit to the citizenry that only by leaving could they find relief for their dilemma. Indeed, what national state could or would tell its people that they could no longer exist at home, but were only needed or wanted by distant colonies or a foreign power? National, like personal, suicide was not viewed by Victorian England as an admirable goal.

True, the Colonial Reformers as well as certain humanitarians and interested financial groups argued that emigration was the key which would unlock the door to British prosperity; however, it became increasingly clear to objective observers that as the majority of emigrants chose to go to the United States, she rather than the empire was benefited. Change in residential habits being difficult and distasteful at best, emigrants generally preferred to settle in a community similar to the one they left. Somewhat surprising, in many instances the United States fulfilled that requirement better than British North America. The more advanced social and industrial features of the former country more than overcame the sentimental and cultural ties exerted by the latter region.

Arguments offered by both Whig and Tory ministries, though derisively received by most emigration enthusiasts, were in the main valid. It would have been illogical to offer emigration as a relief for internal distress and at the same time tender no assistance to those who wished to remain in Britain. Officially financed depar-

tures would doubtlessly have reduced the amount of private emigration, and created the insoluble problem of selecting the proper persons to be sent out, while the government would have been under a heavy responsibility for the health and protection of the settlers for the first months after their arrival in the strange environment. Thousands, like some of those assisted to settle in Canada after the Napoleonic Wars, would have accepted official aid to get to British North America only to move on to the United States. Popular protest and official objection by Canada and the United States over the relatively small transport of Poor Law and privately assisted emigrants lucidly indicate that neither country would have long tolerated any substantial influx of paupers or indigents; a stigma would have been attached to all emigration not only by the people of North America, but more important, by the energetic of Britain. The topic in the public mind would have become synonymous with the transportation of criminals. In brief, the British officialdom was neither knight nor knave, Pollyanna or pessimist. When geographic location, imperial exigency, and popular feeling necessitated an active governmental emigration programme, as it did for the South Pacific, a system was reluctantly and hesitantly, nevertheless effectively, devised.

During the early Victorian years, Britain was entering into a period of at least theoretical individualism when governmental participation in most public projects was considered injurious to the public good; however, the trend did not prove seriously harmful to emigration. A society based on tradition yet with sufficient elasticity to avert the mid-century years of revolution, and a people who absorbed the new science and technology yet did not give way to anarchic materialism cannot be flippantly criticized; a nation steeped with an historic love for home and country yet capable of building and settling an empire not equalled in modern times, and a government which placed no restrictions upon the free movement of its people yet developed the most advanced and humane safeguards for emigrant transport of any country in the world cannot be blankly indicted.

British emigration was a force with both positive and negative values: more often positive for the individuals whose lives were enriched by their forging from the generous wealth of North America a more abundant endowment for themselves and their families than would have been possible on a crowded island; more often negative for a British nation who suffered the mortification of

not being able to adjust to technical advancements with sufficient rapidity to provide the producers of wealth with the fruits of their toil. But as a result of British common sense or world change, native prudence or divine providence, the negative aspect gave way to a positive accomplishment: the reproduction throughout most of North America of a society of the British type.

NOTES

¹ George M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After (1782-1919)* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1947), p. xiv.

² *The Potter's Examiner and Workman's Advocate*, No. 17 (March 23, 1844).

³ 'The Poor British Emigrants' Farewell', *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, VII (1842), 413. For reprint of entire poem see appendix.

⁴ 'Emigration', *Punch*, IX (1845), 15.

⁵ 'Notes of an Emigrant', *Hogg's Instructor*, New Series, VII (1851), 177.

⁶ Page, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

Sir John Seeley originated the striking phrase on the growth of the empire in his work, *The Expansion of England*, first published in 1883.

⁷ Proverbs xxix. 18.

APPENDIX A

THE five following contemporary poems and one prose excerpt set forth three clearly defined views held by Britons on the emigration movement.

The working classes of the early Victorian era were often economically depressed, politically disgruntled, and socially embittered. Many of their more literate spokesmen, therefore, pictured the American Republic as an 'asylum of peace' whereas Britain was a 'land of [poor house] Bastiles'.

THE EMIGRANTS' FAREWELL TO ENGLAND¹

Air 'Isle of Beauty Fare Thee Well'
Home of Tyrants! thee for ever
Willingly we bid Adieu;
Grant it, Heaven, our lot may never
Be again our shores to view:
Bygone lifetime, past in bearing
Troubles more than tongue can tell,
Makes us earnest in declaring,
Land of sorrow Fare thee well!

Human locusts! nurtur'd under
England's glory, Church and State
Wallowing in the heaps of plunder
That the sons of toil create,
Never more, we hope you'll find us
'Mongst the rank beneath your spell;
All we gladly leave behind us;—
Land of Pillage Fare thee well!

Hydra-headed, base exaction!—
Britain's vampire with its prey!
Taking almost every fraction
From the labourer's store away,
Thee, too, as we leave for ever,
Leaping from a power so fell,
Long we to return? No Never!
Land of Taxes Fare thee well!

How across our recollection,
Flit the numerous ills we've borne,
As beneath so called protection
Slav'ry's chains have long been worn;
Blue-coats, worse than worse of creatures!
And the oft fill'd prison-cell,
All present their cursed features;—
Land of bludgeons Fare thee well!

Wretched poor! with all your sorrows,
 Bless't with something called Poor Laws,
 Oft were felt the keenest horrors
 As were scann'd each hated clause,
 But no more shall they offend us;—
 Loud we'll sound their funeral knell:
 Kinder climes shall soon befriend us!—
 Land of Bastiles Fare thee well!

Ills so dire, and so distressing,
 Bid us hasten from the spot,
 Hoping soon't enjoy the blessing
 Of a far more happy lot!
 England! each of us have tried it,
 And if there's another H—ll,
 Grant, kind Heaven! we may avoid it;—
 Land of misery Fare thee well!

THOUGHTS ON GOING TO AMERICA²

Elated with hope, I contemplate a land,
 Which oppression has never subdued;—
 A People who will not submit to the hand
 Of a ruler despotic and rude.

On whose mighty continent, liberty long
 Her Ensign has widely unfurl'd;
 Where Right has excluded injustice and wrong,
 To the wonder and gaze of the world!

There, there I still hope with the blessing of God!
 To find an asylum of Peace;—
 A happy retreat from grim tyranny's rod,
 And from bondage a lasting release.

But I know that regret will loud throb in my breast,
 On leaving the land of my birth;
 For sincerely I love her, most warmly and best
 Of any the nations on earth.

Yet, why should I stay when my Country no more
 Can yield me employment or bread?
 For this, I am seeking a far distant shore,
 For all other prospects are fled.

And oft I shall sigh, when I think of her fate,—
 When her Bulwarks no longer I view
 When I think of the knaves at the Helm of the State
 Who famish and butcher the crew.

* * * * *

Many pro-colonial journals encouraged emigration, but warned that Britons should not 'cut themselves off from the great and good olive tree' by going to

the United States. Such appeals were made more often to the upper and middle classes than to the labouring groups. The loneliness and hardships attending colonial settlement were not overlooked; however, success for the sober and industrious was assured.

(No Title)³

Can you ride in a cart where the weather is foggy?
 Can you get every night, not quite tipsy, but groggy?
 If wet at the inn, can you flit
 Round and round, to get dry, like a grose on a spit?
 In telling a tale can you ponder and prose?
 Can you spit through your teeth? can you talk through your nose?
 Can you sit out the second-hand tragical fury
 Of emigrant players, discarded from Drury?
 Can you place Poet Barlow above Poet Pope?
 Can you wash at an inn, without towel or soap?
 Can you shut either eye to political knavery?
 Can you make your white liberty mix with black slavery?
 Can you spit on the carpet, and smoke a cigar?
 If not, my dear Jeremy, stay where your are!

ADVICE AND INFORMATION FOR EMIGRANTS OF THE FIRST CLASS⁴

Our advice is—[emigrate to] one of the British Colonies. There you have the laws, language, and customs of your youth; you preserve an identity of interest with the parent state, and, under a wise system of colonial government, which must ere long be adopted, you are still a citizen of the British empire, and a part of that great Christian kingdom to which it is a pride and an honour to belong. Should you go to a foreign country, you break at once the links that bind the heart to distant associations, you tear up the tree from its roots, and leave the soil behind; and you know not how soon you may, as the citizen of a foreign state, be engaged in personal hostilities with the once loved companions of your youth.

Believe us when we tell you, that riches, rank, or honours, would never compensate in a foreign land for the estrangements and daily bitterness of felling to which you would be subject: life would become an irksome burden; the exile's chain would be hourly felt, and you would curse the day when you were induced to cast off the allegiance due to the inexplicable associations connected with 'fatherland', and which time instead of extinguishing, renders more and more dear. What says every intelligent and noble-minded American, when he sees the 'Great Western' casting off her chain moorings in the magnificent haven of New York, and with the swiftness of the eagle and the strength of the lion bounding across the Atlantic? 'England! revered England!! great England!!!—land of my fathers, how I love thy very name; thy age commands my respect, thy power my admiration; I claim to be thy scion, yet feel myself an alien: would that I could return again into thy bosom, become a portion of thy empire, and receive the high appellation of a British citizen.'

Let, then, the intending emigrant lay aside any thought of settling anywhere but in our own colonies, and look with confidence to the establishment of his family in the climate or locality best adapted to his age and health, or where he may find the most numerous acquaintances.

A DREAM OF THE CANADAS⁵

Far in a deep Canadian wild
 A loved, yet lonely garden smiled;
 Both foreign to that forest were—
 The flowers, and they who placed them there:
 The seeds were sown by strangers' hands,
 The blossoms born of stranger lands,
 And spoke of years no more to come,
 And breathed as with a voice of home.

There oft at sunset's closing hour
 Would he who raided that Eden-bower
 Turn fondly back to scenes of old,
 Where Severn's mighty river rolled:
 The hearth within his own green isle,
 His mother's voice—his sister's smile,
 All crowding came that heart to fill,
 Whose pulse of joy lay cold and still.

But noblest of that group is he
 Whose love had led her o'er the sea:
 Within his own hearth's sacred light
 He sits, his grey hair waving white!
 His sons upon their sire attending—
 His daughters neath his blessing bending;
 And on his knee his first-born child,
 The honoured patriarch of the wild!

* * * * *

Chartist writers generally opposed emigration not because they doubted its efficacy in improving the lot of the individual, but because they believed fundamental changes should be initiated in British society. Emigration was thought to weaken the chances for significant reform at home.

(No Title)⁶

Sorrow laden,
 Youth and Maiden
 To Canadian
 Wilds may go;
 Eerie thund'ring,
 Wake their wond'ring:
 Will their absence heal our woe?

Have their mothers
 Not borne others?
 Sisters, Brother,
 Starving, stay!
 Sire declining;
 Vain repining!
 He must sue for parish pay.

Man ! cease dreaming;
Light is beaming,
Nature teeming,
Markets cloy !
Earth redundant,
Pours abundant
Gifts which all should still enjoy.

NOTES

¹ Written by J. Mountford and published in *The Potters' Examiner and Workman's Advocate*, I, No. 11 (February 10, 1844).

² Written by James Redfern and published in *The Potters' Examiner and Workman's Advocate*, I, No. 17 (March 23, 1844).

³ Author anonymous. Published in *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, VIII (May-June 1842), 82.

⁴ Excerpt from *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, I, No. 2 (1840), 168-69.

⁵ First, second, and ninth verses of a poem by Eleandora L. Montagu published in *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, XIII (January-April 1848), 56-57.

⁶ Written by Charles Cole and published in *The English Chartist Circular*, II, No. 151 (1843), 395.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I

Table I refers to all emigrants sailing from the United Kingdom during the years 1815-60. The departures to areas other than North America are given for the purpose of comparison. Until 1853 no differentiation was made between native subjects and continentals who embarked from British ports; however, prior to 1853 the number of foreigners who passed through Great Britain was relatively small. The pre-Victorian figures were compiled by the various port custom officials, and are not accurate emigration statistics. Many persons who quit Britain later returned; some individuals emigrated a second time; while innumerable ships, leaving from small ports where no custom official was stationed, did not obtain a legal clearance. After the appointment in 1837 of the first Agent-General for Emigration, a more satisfactory method of tabulating the outward flow was initiated; nevertheless, the evidence indicates that the illegal sailing of emigrant ships, especially to the United States, continued through the 1850's. The custom returns do not record the numbers going to Australia until 1825, but figures for the years 1821-24 secured elsewhere are considered authoritative.

EMIGRANTS SAILING FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1815-60

Year	Citizens	Aliens	Nationality Unknown	United States	British North America	Australia and New Zealand	Other Countries	Total
1815	1,209	680	....	192	2,081
1816	9,022	3,370	....	118	12,510
1817	10,280	9,797	....	557	20,634
1818	12,429	15,136	....	222	27,787
1819	10,674	23,534	....	579	34,787
1820	6,745	17,921	....	1,063	25,729

TABLE 1—continued

Year	Citizens	Aliens	Nationality Unknown	United States	British North America	Australia and New Zealand	Other Countries	Total
1821	4,958	12,955	320	384	18,617
1822	4,137	16,013	875	279	21,304
1823	5,032	11,355	543	163	17,093
1824	5,152	8,774	780	99	14,805
1825	5,551	8,741	485	114	14,891
1826	7,063	12,818	903	116	20,900
1827	14,526	12,648	715	114	28,003
1828	12,817	12,084	1,056	135	26,092
1829	15,678	13,307	2,016	197	31,198
1830	24,887	30,574	1,242	204	56,907
1831	23,418	58,067	1,561	114	83,160
1832	32,872	66,339	3,733	196	103,140
1833	29,109	28,808	4,093	517	62,527
1834	33,074	40,060	2,800	288	76,222
1835	26,720	15,573	1,860	325	44,478
1836	37,774	34,226	3,124	293	75,417
1837	36,770	29,884	5,054	326	72,034
1838	14,332	4,577	14,021	292	33,222
1839	33,536	12,658	15,786	227	62,207
1840	40,642	32,293	15,850	1,958	90,743

Year	Citizens	Aliens	Nationality Unknown	United States	British North America	Australia and New Zealand	Other Countries	Total
1841	....	....	....	45,017	38,164	32,625	2,786	118,592
1842	....	....	....	63,852	54,123	8,534	1,835	128,344
1843	....	....	....	28,335	23,518	3,478	1,881	57,212
1844	....	....	....	43,660	22,924	2,229	1,873	70,686
1845	....	....	....	58,538	31,803	830	2,330	93,501
1846	....	....	....	82,239	43,439	2,347	1,826	129,851
1847	....	....	....	142,154	109,680	4,949	1,487	258,270
1848	....	....	....	188,233	31,065	23,904	4,887	248,089
1849	....	....	....	219,450	41,367	32,191	6,490	299,498
1850	....	....	....	223,078	32,961	16,037	8,773	280,849
1851	....	....	....	267,357	42,605	21,532	4,472	335,966
1852	....	....	....	244,261	32,873	87,881	3,749	368,764
1853	278,129	31,459	20,349	230,885	34,522	61,401	3,129	329,937
1854	267,047	37,704	18,678	193,065	43,761	83,237	3,366	323,429
1855	150,023	10,554	16,230	103,414	17,966	52,309	3,118	176,807
1856	148,284	9,474	18,796	111,837	16,378	44,584	3,755	176,554
1857	181,051	12,624	19,200	126,905	21,001	61,248	3,721	212,875
1858	95,067	4,560	14,345	59,716	9,704	39,295	5,257	113,972
1859	97,093	4,442	18,897	70,303	6,689	31,013	12,427	120,432
1860	95,989	4,536	27,944	87,500	9,786	24,302	6,881	128,469

TABLE 2

Tables 2 and 3 show the number of English and Scots sailing from English, Scottish, and Irish ports. Nationality was not recorded prior to 1853. In most instances, the figures indicate a smaller emigration than actually occurred; in addition to those sailing illegally, persons whose nationality was not distinguished (see Table 1), doubtless many of whom were English and Scots, are not included in these tables.

ENGLISH SAILING FROM UNITED KINGDOM PORTS, 1853-60

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ports</i>			
	<i>English</i>	<i>Scottish</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Total</i>
1853 To U.S.	26,357	153	2	26,512
To B.N.A.	4,189	5	..	4,194
1854 To U.S.	37,557	87	..	37,644
To B.N.A.	5,927	137	..	6,064
1855 To U.S.	25,265	13	..	25,278
To B.N.A.	4,394	20	119	4,533
1856 To U.S.	31,047	147	..	31,194
To B.N.A.	3,628	10	24	3,662
1857 To U.S.	33,841	125	..	33,966
To B.N.A.	8,267	23	73	8,363
1858 To U.S.	14,060	68	341	14,469
To B.N.A.	2,339	11	77	2,427
1859 To U.S.	12,821	30	214	13,065
To B.N.A.	483	28	13	524
1860 To U.S.	13,530	16	10	13,556
To B.N.A.	532	27	..	559

TABLE 3

SCOTS SAILING FROM UNITED KINGDOM PORTS, 1853-60

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ports</i>			
	<i>English</i>	<i>Scottish</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Total</i>
1853 To U.S.	2,380	5,056	34	7,470
To B.N.A.	372	4,818	4	5,194
1854 To U.S.	2,518	2,370	..	4,888
To B.N.A.	388	6,318	..	6,706
1855 To U.S.	2,227	1,570	..	3,797
To B.N.A.	568	4,903	..	5,471
1856 To U.S.	3,077	1,883	..	4,960
To B.N.A.	511	2,772	..	3,283
1857 To U.S.	3,110	2,380	..	5,490
To B.N.A.	863	3,091	30	3,984
1858 To U.S.	1,865	1,443	81	3,389
To B.N.A.	129	1,713	77	1,919
1859 To U.S.	1,390	1,401	60	2,851
To B.N.A.	78	757	23	858
1860 To U.S.	1,989	229	2	2,220
To B.N.A.	82	891	18	991

TABLE 4

Table 4 details the occupations of emigrants sailing from United Kingdom ports. Both the Irish and foreign departures are included. As the percentage of emigrants from any one trade varied only slightly during the 1850's, only one Occupations of Emigrants Table is given.

OCCUPATIONS OF EMIGRANTS SAILING FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1856					
Occupation	To U.S.	To Brit. N.Am.	To Aust. & N.Z.	To All Others	Total
<i>Adult Males</i>					
Agricultural Labourers, Gardeners, Carters, etc.	158	238	4,234	26	4,656
Bakers	449	63	121	..	633
Blacksmiths and Farriers	99	42	230	5	376
Book Binders and Stationers	10	1	9	..	20
Boot and Shoe Makers	273	108	114	1	496
Braziers, Tinsmiths, Whitesmiths, etc.	27	8	19	..	54
Brick and Tile Makers, Potters, etc.	17	1	95	1	114
Bricklayers, Masons, Plasters, Slaters, etc.	548	91	507	2	1,148
Builders	19	3	29	..	51
Butchers, Poulterers, etc.	97	21	97	..	215
Cabinet Makers and Upholsterers	25	6	41	..	72
Carpenters and Joiners	1,320	156	918	3	2,397
Carvers and Gilders	26	4	7	..	37
Clerks	370	56	247	50	723
Clock and Watch Makers	43	16	18	1	78

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>To U.S.</i>	<i>To Brit. N.Am.</i>	<i>To Aust. & N.Z.</i>	<i>To All Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
Coach Makers and Trimmers	2	1	8	3	14
Coal Miners	16	..	106	..	122
Coppers	80	19	26	1	126
Cutlers	12	1	5	..	18
Domestic Servants	161	18	93	7	279
Dyers	6	8	2	..	16
Engineers	102	15	95	11	223
Engravers	24	1	27	..	52
Farmers	4,800	752	1,042	10	6,604
Gentlemen, Professional Men, Merchants, etc.	495	78	1,038	76	1,687
Jewellers and Silversmiths	35	2	27	..	64
Labourers, General	18,597	2,160	5,460	210	26,337
Locksmiths, Gunsmiths, etc.	7	3	1	..	11
Millers, Malsters, etc.	42	34	30	1	107
Millwrights	1	4	6	1	12
Miners and Quarrymen	1,047	57	2,160	96	3,360
Painters, Paperhangers, Plumbers, and Glaziers	336	15	91	1	443
Pensioners	93	255	2	..	350
Printers	63	7	40	3	113
Rope Makers	3	2	4	..	9

TABLE 4—continued

Occupation	To U.S.	To Brit. N.Am.	To Aust. & N.Z.	To All Others	Total
Saddlers and Harness Makers	21	6	29	3	59
Sail Makers	1	3	3	..	7
Sawyers	15	9	173	..	197
Seamen	128	25	156	..	309
Shipwrights	8	1	13	..	22
Shopkeepers	516	22	224	3	765
Smiths, General	195	52	127	..	374
Spinners and Weavers	249	42	45	..	336
Sugar Bakers, Boilers, etc.	55	..	30	..	85
Surveyors	5	1	12	..	18
Tailors	623	97	65	2	787
Tallow Chandlers and Soap Makers	..	..	2	..	2
Tanners and Curriers	14	5	11	..	30
Turners	9	14	19	..	42
Wheelwrights	20	18	70	1	109
Wool Combers and Sorters	5	4	31	..	40
Other Mechanics not before specified	1,757	101	651	19	2,528
Not distinguished	12,358	1,107	2,261	217	15,943
TOTAL ADULT MALES	45,292	5,753	20,871	754	72,670

Occupation	To U.S.	To Brit. N.Am.	To Aust. & N.Z.	To All Others	Total
<i>Adult Females</i>					
Domestic and Farm Servants, etc.	5,018	562	4,954	14	10,548
Gentlewomen and Governesses	4	4	24	2	34
Milliners, Dressmakers, and Needlewomen	136	27	98	..	261
Married Women	12,319	1,602	6,524	96	20,541
Shopwomen	..	..	1	..	1
Mechanics not before specified	12	5	13	..	30
Not distinguished	21,088	1,595	2,178	119	24,980
TOTAL ADULT FEMALES	38,577	3,795	13,792	231	56,395
TOTAL CHILDREN (under 12)	19,491	3,255	9,124	100	31,970
NOT DISTINGUISHED AS TO AGE OR SEX	8,477	3,575	797	2,670	15,519
GRAND TOTAL	111,837	16,378	44,584	3,755	176,554

TABLE 5

STATUTES AT LARGE RELATING TO BRITISH EMIGRATION, 1800-60

- 43 Geo. III, c. 56. Act to Regulate Vessels Carrying Passengers.
 56 Geo. III, c. 83. Act to Regulate Vessels Carrying Passengers.
 57 Geo. III, c. 10. Act to Regulate Vessels Carrying Passengers.
 58 Geo. III, c. 89. Act to Repeal Portions of 43 Geo. III, c. 56.
 59 Geo. III, c. 124. Act to Amend Portions of 43 Geo. III, c. 56.
 1 Geo. IV, c. 7. Act to Repeal Portions of 43 Geo. III, c. 56.
 4 Geo. IV, c. 84. Act to Repeal Former Provisions and to Make New Regulations for Passenger Vessels.
 5 Geo. IV, c. 97. Act to Repeal Restrictions on Artificers Going Abroad.
 6 Geo. IV, c. 105 and 116. Act to Repeal Earlier Laws and New Act to Regulate Vessels Carrying Passengers to Foreign Ports.
 7 & 8 Geo. IV, c. 19. Act to Repeal Regulations of 6 Geo. IV, c. 116.
 9 Geo. IV, c. 21. Act to Regulate the Carrying of Passengers in Merchant Vessels.
 4 & 5 Will. IV, c. 76. Poor Law Amendment Act: Emigration.
 5 & 6 Will. IV, c. 53. Act to Repeal Law of 9 Geo. IV, c. 21, as it Related to North America.
 5 & 6 Vict., c. 107. Act to Regulate the Carrying of Passengers in Merchant Vessels.
 7 & 8 Vict., c. 101. Act to Amend the Poor Law Amendment Act: Emigration.
 8 & 9 Vict., c. 14. Act to Exempt Ships Carrying Passengers to North America from the Obligation of Having a Physician on Board.
 10 & 11 Vict., c. 103. Act to Amend Passenger Act.
 11 & 12 Vict., c. 6. Act to Make Provisions for Carrying of Passengers to North America.
 11 & 12 Vict., c. 110. Act to Amend the Poor Law Amendment Act: Emigration.
 12 & 13 Vict. c. 33. Act to Regulate the Carrying of Passengers in Merchant Vessels.
 12 & 13 Vict., c. 103. Act to Amend the Poor Law Amendment Act: Emigration.
 13 & 14 Vict., c. 101. Act to Continue Provisions of 12 & 13 Vict., c. 103.
 14 & 15 Vict., c. 1. Act to Amend Passenger Act.
 14 & 15 Vict., c. 91. Emigration Advances Act: Scotland.
 15 & 16 Vict., c. 44. Act to Amend and to Consolidate Passenger Laws.
 18 & 19 Vict., c. 119. Act to Amend the Law Relating to Carrying of Passengers.
 19 & 20 Vict., c. 9. Act to Amend Laws Relating to the Advancement of Public Money for Improvement of Land (14 & 15 Vict., c. 91).

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From Public Record Office manuscripts, a total of twenty-two volumes from the Colonial Office files and sixteen volumes from the Foreign Office files, as well as several Home Office volumes, were used. Only the major subject classifications, however, are carried in the bibliography. Specific volume numbers are listed in the footnotes.

Since at least three different methods are used by libraries in cataloguing Parliamentary Papers, complete data, including the year of printing, volume within the year, sessional or command number, and short title, is given. House of Lords and House of Commons sessional paper numbers are enclosed in parentheses: example, (ooo); whereas, command paper numbers are enclosed in brackets: example, [ooo]. Because of differences in library indexing systems, the page numbering found in footnotes referring to Parliamentary Papers is inconsistent. In some instances, the page number indicated is the page number within the volume; in other instances it is the page number within the sessional or command paper.

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